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ABSTRACT

Goals of the National Conference on Bilingual Education, held on April 14-15, 1972 in Austin, Texas, were to emphasize bilingual education interaction at the national level using outstanding consultants from throughout the United States and to exchange ideas among educators in existing programs. The conference was also organized to give bilingual educators greater national recognition as a priority for the education of children whose home language is not English. Participants included teachers, administrators, community representatives, school board members, and other local, state and national officials. Sessions covered such areas as skills teaching methodology, cultural implications, psychological aspects of the teaching-learning process, reading instruction, curriculum development, literature, and tests and measurements. General sessions were scheduled for sharing ideas and concerns. In this document, the conference proceedings followed the agenda. The session, "Pensamientos Sobre La Literatura Chicana", was the only one in Spanish. The appendix listed program participants and their titles. (NQ)

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PROCEEDINGS
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PROCEEDINGS
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Erratum:

- Page 85 and Page 86 are reversed
- Page 216 and Page 217 are reversed

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PROCEEDINGS
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION
APRIL 14-15, 1972
AUSTIN, TEXAS

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DISSEMINATION CENTER FOR
BILINGUAL BICULTURAL EDUCATION

DR. GEORGE I. SANCHEZ

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FOREWORD

The National Conference on Bilingual Education was sponsored by the Texas Education Agency in cooperation with the Education Service Center, Region XIII in Austin, Texas and the United States Office of Education. Conference goals were to emphasize interaction at the national level featuring outstanding bilingual education consultants from throughout the United States as well as to exchange ideas among educators in existing bilingual programs. It was also organized to give Bilingual Education greater national recognition as a priority endeavor in the education of all children whose home language is other than English.

Participants included teachers, administrators, community representatives, school board members and other local, state and national officials to give impetus to the implementation and continued development of bilingual programs throughout the nation. Included were sessions on many aspects of the bilingual curriculum comprised of skills teaching methodology, cultural implications, psychological aspects of the teaching-learning process, literature, tests and measurements, and relevant topics. General sessions were scheduled for the sharing of ideas and concerns.

The Conference on Bilingual Education was held on April 14-15, 1972, in Austin, Texas, at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library Auditorium and Joe C. Thompson Convention Center, University of Texas at Austin.

In this publication the Dissemination Center for Bilingual Bicultural Education has attempted to give an account of the proceedings of this conference. Materials for this publication were secured as follows: Program participants submitted manuscripts for their presentations which are precise, scholarly and formal. Certain presentations were electronically recorded, transcribed and edited. These are more spontaneous and reflect a conversational, candid reaction to the group. Other activities were conducted in the form of panel discussions during which thoughts were clarified in small groups. Some sessions included the showing and discussion of slides and other audiovisual materials. Commercial and non-commercial exhibits were displayed at the conference site.

In this document, the presentations are arranged in the order of the Conference Agenda. Program participants and their titles are listed in the appendix.

It is hoped that the magic which took place between all conference participants is adequately reflected in these proceedings and thus, provide the reader with added enlightenment and renewed enthusiasm for the task that lies ahead in the field of bilingual-bicultural education.

Juan D. Solís

Juan D. Solís, Director
Dissemination Center for
Bilingual Bicultural Education

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WELCOME

Mr. Joe Parks

On behalf of the staff of Region XIII Education Service Center I extend a most warm and cordial welcome to you. We hope your participation in this National Conference on Bilingual Education will be a most rewarding experience. Our staff is pleased to have the opportunity to join with the U.S. Office of Education and the Texas Education Agency in sponsoring this first national conference.

We hope each of you will have an opportunity to share your thoughts and ideas about this most important and timely subject before you leave. May this conference be stimulating, thought provoking, and interesting to each participant. Welcome.

* * *

Invocation

Rev. Josué González

* * *

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Dr. J. W. Edgar

I must take a personal privilege here to join with Joe Parks in expressing to you our appreciation for your overwhelming response to this conference and for your presence here. And I particularly refer, if you Texans will forgive me, to the more than 300 persons who have already registered from outside of Texas. We are indeed glad to have you here and we feel that we will gain much from your presence and your contribution.

I hope it will be helpful to all of us, as we open this conference this morning, for me to describe to you the position of the Texas Education Agency with respect to bilingual education as officially determined by the Texas State Board of Education.

We found as we entered into the responsibility which is ours to give leadership to the development of bilingual education programs that we were entering a very diverse field. As a matter of fact, in any group of our Agency staff, to mention the words "bilingual education" was to start a debate on various philosophical issues and different approaches to bilingual education. We encourage these debates so long as they are conducted upon a platform which will give the participants some basis of understanding of what they are debating. So we do not intend at all to eliminate what we consider to be a very healthy situation in our diverse approaches to bilingual education.

Nor do we intend to require every school district in Texas to begin a bilingual education program that, in the beginning, must be a broad, comprehensive program. We realize that each district must begin with the elements it has available, and we hope to give it assistance in broadening its program so that it will develop a comprehensive program. So I offer the following comments mainly for your information and as an example of how we have done it with no intent to impose them upon you, but simply as a way to begin the discussions which will take place here today and tomorrow.

We know, and of course we know that you know, that in a multilingual multicultural country such as ours, language is the most obvious cultural characteristic of our people. It is the means by which we grow intellectually and become what we are to become. It is the medium by which we establish our relationships with each other. It is indeed the quality by which we express our personality.

I have said this is obvious, but in planning sometimes we overlook the obvious. We feel that these statements are important to us as we have attempted to project a program of leadership. Therefore, we believe that bilingual education comprises a truly important part of the total educational process in this country and in Texas. We are committed to it as a program of highest priority. Our bilingual legislation, the adoption of policies by the Texas State Board of Education, our Statewide Design for Bilingual Education, the excellent programs emerging in our schools and the great public awareness for the need of bilingualism all attest to our strong belief in the bilingual concept.

We regard as our primary goals the achievement by the student of the goals of the educational process, using two languages, developing proficiency in both, while acknowledging English as the basic language of instruction. Of course we understand that bilingualism is broader than just Spanish-English, but for our purposes we are concentrating on Spanish and English as the two languages in our bilingual programs.

We view bilingual education as a logical process by which (1) educational success on the part of the non-English student is enhanced by permitting him to learn in his first language while he is learning to function successfully in English, (2) continued development by the non- English speaking student of his first language is provided for as he is learning to function successfully in English, (3) continued development on the part of the English-speaking student of proficiency in a second language is also provided for, and (4) increased recognition of the total community, parents, teachers, administrators, students and others of the importance of bilingualism and its contributions toward better understanding among the people.

Now because we perceive bilingual education as a program developed to meet the individual needs of children, mainly, we believe that a bilingual program should include six specific components and these we seek to promote and implement in our statewide design. These six are:

1. The basic concepts initiating the child into the school environment are taught in the language he brings from home.
2. Language development is provided in the child's dominant language.
3. Language development is provided in the child's second language.
4. Subject matter and concepts are taught in the child's dominant language.
5. Subject matter and concepts are taught in the second language of the child.
6. Specific attention is given to develop in the child a positive identity with his cultural heritage, self-assurance, and confidence.

We know that the Spanish-speaking child who feels free to use his native language in the school or on the street, who learns to read and write Spanish without delay, who can learn to understand, speak, read, and write English in proper sequence and at his own pace, and who in turn enjoys the respect and affection of his cultural counterparts will prove to be a successful learner.

Hopefully the English-speaking child in such a natural environment will want to learn Spanish and will early come to understand not only the language but the inherent social values of another culture. As generations of children both Spanish and English speakers go through school and become increasingly bilingual and bicultural they will have within their understanding the essential elements to function successfully and meaningfully in our society. Only as we learn as leaders to communicate more fully with the peoples of diverse languages and to understand more clearly from a variety of cultures can we build an inner strength and confidence in ourselves to perform appropriately a role of cultural leadership.

This about summarizes our position, our commitment, our definition, and some of our hopeful results. Now among the group of distinguished professionals who are here this morning, these things I have just stated just have to sound elemental and routine. And you must be saying to yourself, so, what else is new? But when you place all these things into the context of statewide action and acceptance with full intent of doing something about them, their simplicities are deceptive. Their complexities are enormous. Their goals are difficult to achieve. But they are our challenges, and because we believe in them so strongly, and because we desire to improve our ability to develop them, we are pleased with the opportunity to take part in this conference.

I convey to you our very best wishes for a most productive conference and for your stay in Austin to be a pleasant one.

THE SECOND WIND OF THE ADVOCATORS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

(y sigue la yunta andando)

Dr. Quino Martínez

Mr. Chairman, fellow bilinguals, near bilinguals, and bilinguals to be: Today we are gathered here to initiate a national conference on the great need for bilingualism in our school systems. I am not any great authority on bilingualism; my claim to some sort of expertise is based on the fact that I have fifty years experience of being a Mexican. Fifty years of struggle, first to educate myself and then to improve education for our children and to improve a system that finds it difficult to accept us on an American to American basis and even on a human to human basis.

A conference on bilingualism elsewhere in the world would be a routine, pleasant happening. European bilingualism for instance, connotes harmony, joy, and civilization. Bilingualism to us means the survival of our children in the struggle for education. The fact that we are Mexicans is for us a truly vital problem, a problem of life and death. We are Chicanos, a word of uncertain derivation saying nothing and saying everything. We have become a very defensive minority against a majority with a tremendous offensive strength and with the advantage of having all the signal callers. The majority has ideals it wants realized, has no desire to change them and is confident of surviving regardless. We bilinguals want our system to be based on real truth and not social truth. As I meditate on bilingual education, as I try to clarify to myself the meaning of certain experiences, I reach two conclusions. I see two objectives; the idealistic goal of creating a bilingual society or the therapeutic type of bilingualism used exclusively to treat a linguistic deficiency. Having been a professor of foreign languages and literatures for a quarter of a century, I have come to the conclusion that the deeply rooted attitude of monolingualism is too great an obstacle for ideal bilingualism. Our dominant, monolingual majority feels no need for bilingualism, and one cannot advocate necessity of an item not needed. Even the foreign language experts in our colleges and universities who are not native speakers often experience difficulties in communicating in the language for whose mastery they have received doctorate degrees. Of course there are exceptions.

My fears that monolingualism is stronger than ever are augmented by the fact that the foreign language requirements for high school graduation are being eliminated and likewise foreign language requirements for most college curriculums are on the way out.

Under these circumstances one must feel nothing but great admiration for the champions of bilingual education, for these Quixotes who must go on fighting windmills and disenchanting castles. Like Don Quixote our champions of bilingualism have real truth for their inspiration. The essence of the continuity of the bilingualists' struggle is what I really wanted to express with the title of my chat: "*Se me reventó el barzón y sigue la yunta andando.*" This was the title of a song that described the plight of the Mexican farmer who believed in his potential but was kept in perpetual futile hard labor by his superiors with empty promises and the reality of his increasing debts and obligations. He and his *yunta* nevertheless continue to plow, continue to plant, and with Mexican Hispanic optimism and faith will continue to plant, and with Mexican Hispanic optimism and faith will continue to plow toward a goal so real and so difficult to reach. Like our brothers who till the soil we advocators of bilingualism have to continue plowing until we see the green of hope, *lo verde de la esperanza*.

Our philosophers, our investigators, our designers, our technicians of bilingual education have created theories, researched them, experimented them and have obtained positive results. We should be given the signal for full speed ahead. We have a go ahead signal, but, judging from the programs now in existence, that green light is not as green as it should be. We are convinced that bilingual education is based on solid pedagogical grounds, but we still have to contend with many skeptics--skeptics who don't believe in anything, who are outside of all such matters, who do not engage reality or nothingness. These are skeptics for whom things neither exist nor nonexist, and who therefore do not feel the brunt of either belief or disbelief in them. We also have the skeptic whose job is not to believe in anything, but whose job it is to uproot belief in things that seem most true.

I am saddened in particular by the negative attitude toward bilingualism that has been created by the skeptical monolingual fellow citizen. This attitude ironically seems to be stronger in the Southwest, an area that is ideal for bilingualism. Recent information has revealed that most of the programs funded are east of the Mississippi. This seems to indicate that this negativism toward bilingualism and biculturalism is not so deeply rooted outside the area known as our Southwest.

I therefore ask myself the obvious question, 'Why is there so much resistance to bilingual efforts in the classrooms of Southwestern schools?' Is it because the Spanish language and culture is such a real element in our environment? Is there something about this reality that is so challenging that it frightens? Is this why we would rather tackle bilingualism east of the Mississippi? Do we prefer to work in artificial settings with only minor touches of realism to convince our consciences that our meager efforts justify the spending of federal monies? Why can't we concentrate our efforts in the real world of bilingual potential? Why are we so negative toward practicing this bit of pedagogy and democracy in our educational systems that are supposed to be the sources of inspiration for our philosophy of liberty and justice? Is the answer Racism? If it is this cruel, this brutal, this uncivilized Racism, how are we, the underdog, the weak minorities, going to meet the challenge of this Goliath? The Mexican historically has always been the underdog. History also shows that this underdog has won victory after victory much to the amazement of the skeptic. In the same traditional manner of accepting difficult challenges we will regroup our forces, our assets, our spirits *y adelante con la cruz*.

I feel that our first concern should be the survival of the Spanish-speaking child as he begins his arduous journey in search of enlightenment through our treacherous school systems. I believe, like you all believe, that we must have competent, compassionate, bilingual teachers in the first five or six primary grades who are ready, eager, and willing to come to the linguistic assistance of any child who needs that help and at the precise moment of need.

I remember an old aunt in the family, a teacher who taught school for over thirty years in a small rural community in New Mexico. She practiced this therapeutic bilingualism for as long as she taught with marvelous results. She never thought that she was doing anything unusual other than helping the kids learn, helping them overcome obstacles, other than fulfilling to the letter her obligations as a real teacher.

Studies are revealing that our Spanish speaking minorities will soon dominate statistics in categories of dropouts, substandard readers, remedial curriculums, special education, etcetera; in other words, dominate every negative category available. My home state of Arizona is doing a good job in contributing to these statistics. Arizona used to rank 48th in the effort to alleviate the problems of minorities, but with the admission of Alaska and Hawaii to the union it now ranks 50th. English and Spanish are two magnificent languages with equally rich linguistic and literary histories. Used with the dignity and pride that they both deserve, we can do wonders for our young people.

If we advocators of bilingualism exert a greater effort toward implementing this simple step of therapeutic bilingualism in the affected school districts, we will be taking an essential step in preventing our Spanish-speaking children from becoming another percentage in the sad, tragic, statistics of educational research.

The more idealist and general objectives of bilingual education should be secondary. Americans are not lacking in language learning facilities. There are excellent language programs in intermediate schools, high schools, private schools, community colleges, colleges, special schools, and universities. The government has already spent millions in all kinds of language institutes. Countless numbers of methods of teaching foreign languages have been innovated and used. Many have been discarded. It is ironical that the result of all this activity is a sad decrease in foreign language enrollment.

We in the Southwest are fortunate that interest and enrollment in Spanish language instruction is not diminishing, rather, it is increasing. Spanish is part of the Southwest, part of its history, an important part of its present, and a necessary part of its future. It is real. This is proof that the plus merits of our Mexican-Hispanic civilization are much greater than its demerits. This is proof of its positive contribution to our Anglo-Saxon environment. What all of us wish and request is that the negative aspects of our bilingual, bicultural reality be ameliorated or eliminated.

We are requesting that two great languages, two great contributors to our civilization be used in our systems of education wherever needed. The result cannot help but enhance our educational philosophy and our concepts of democratic principles. Our aristocratic Spanish can be a coworker of our dynamic English. Let us stick to our *Yuntas aunque se reviente el barzón.*

READING-MOTIVATION-LEARNING

Dr. Robert Galván

My duties as Vice President of Texas Christian University are academically oriented as chairman of the Graduate Department in Reading and I have worked with many bilingual programs.

Today when we talk about reading and about motivation, we talk about learning. I have a very difficult time separating the three of them because I think they kind of go together. Show me a child that is really achieving in reading, and I will show you a child that is in the process of learning and in the process of being motivated. Show me, by the same token, a child that is having difficulty reading, a child that is not showing the type of success that we hope a child to show, and I will show you a child that is not motivated and a child that is not learning. They are all very well tied together.

As you look around you, as you look in your professional magazines, and as you read professional books, regardless of who the authors are, you are going to find that there is a great multitude of materials that has been written concerning why children read or why Johnny doesn't achieve: everything from Jean Charles' book, "Reading: The Great Debate," to recent articles in Good Housekeeping and Redbook. In more cases than one, you will find that children are said to have reading problems in America today because of comprehension difficulties, that the difficulties are associated with language and vocabulary, or to poor word attack skills that have been developed. Well, I suggest that both of those things do exist, but there is more to it than whether or not a child comprehends, or whether or not he has an adequate vocabulary, or whether or not he has poor word attack skills.

In a recent article that appeared in one of the large national magazines there is a portrait of a young boy. It is a dreadful looking portrait. The boy has his hands in his pockets and his back is turned. He is walking down a very deserted, desolate, gloomy-looking alley and below his portrait the description says, "I am a school dropout. I can't read good. I can't get jobs. Help me, please!"

The article goes on to say that this is not anyone that you or I know; it is not anyone that we can say came from New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Fort Worth, Dallas, Houston, New Orleans, or St. Louis. It says, though, that he is one of a million school age children that drop out of school each year. That is a very cold and sobering fact. It suggests that you look around you, in the school where you are involved, whether you are a classroom teacher, a supervisor, a principal, an administrator, bilingual consultant, or a director of bilingual programs. It asks that you look at the children you are working with and think of the one million school age children in the process of the school year who are going to drop out of school. One third of all ninth graders will never graduate from high school. The figures continue. Today, in the college crop of freshmen, one third will never finish college. The last caption says, "This young boy has a plea." His plea is "Someone help me, please."

Today we are discussing reading, motivation and learning. We are doing it in relationship to Bilingual Education in reference to a group of children that we call bilingual, or a group of children that we want to specifically call Mexican Americans, Chicanos, Spanish speakers or Latin Americans, whatever terminology you want to use and I don't want to get caught up with the semantics associated with that. The question is one that you may not be aware of. How many of these children in the State of Texas have problems associated with reading? The Texas Education Agency has released some information indicating that the Mexican American represents 30% of the school age population in the State of Texas, but it also represents an 80% dropout rate. Now, I would suggest that you will find comparable figures in the other states of Arizona, New Mexico, California and Colorado. You will find comparable figures in some of the areas of Chicago; you will find comparable figures involving the Spanish speakers, including the Cubans and the Puerto Ricans, in New York.

The problem today is one of identification of reading problems. As I said, you can go back and look at it, and there will be people that will say to you, "The problem of reading today is lack of adequate compression skills or vocabulary skills or language skills." But I want to take another approach with you this afternoon and look at it from another standpoint; one that does not get quite as specific. The reason it doesn't is that we have had specifics for a number of years; we have had diagnostic tests; we have had survey tests, and, yet, all we have done in many cases is say back to the parent or back to the classroom teacher, "Yes, you're right, your child or the children in your classroom do have a reading problem."

What are we going to do about it? I suggest to you that there are three different areas in which these children begin to exhibit difficulties in reading and these areas relate directly to motivation and to learning.

POINT ONE: The reason that many children have difficulty in reading, not only the Chicano child but every other type of child, is that perhaps he finds himself a child that is tense and unhappy about learning to read. Reading for him is not a happy experience; reading for him is not even an enthusiastic experience. Reading for him does not offer him anything that builds up his self-concept and it doesn't necessarily embroider itself on attitudes relating to the Spanish American or the Mexican or any other type of child. It is a mere fact that it is taken into his own makeup as a personality. Some children are not tense or unhappy about anything. They are like a goose. They wake up in a brand new world everyday. This is not the type of child that we are talking about. This type of child is going to make it in spite of you, the teacher, but there are other children that are not going to make it. Why? - because of you, the teacher. This is the child that I want to talk to you about this afternoon.

It's what happens to those 80% Mexican American children in the State of Texas who are only 30% of the school age population who drop out of school. There's got to be a reason. Why? Research facts saying that it's because of comprehension skills difficulties, or because of oral language difficulties, or because of word attack difficulties are not going to get to the root of the problem. The problem is elsewhere and has to be within the total intake of the child. How does he feel as a person? What is his concept toward himself? Better yet, what is his concept toward school? Out there somewhere he has some sort of vague notion of what school is all about. Many children are ill-prepared to go to school. What do we do as teachers to accept the children into our classroom? What do we as parents do to prepare our children to go into those classrooms? How much utilization do we make of ourselves and of the things that are around us?

I want to ask you to mark the 14th day of April, 1972 and I want you to look at your calendars on the 14th day of April about 1976. I want you to write down what techniques and procedures you are using to teach your first and second grade children today. I predict to you that if you take a look at this in four or five years you are going to find that your techniques are antiquated. You will not be able to use the techniques four or five years from now and be a successful teacher. You would lose your children; you would have no motivation and what's more, they would not learn. Learning takes place when teaching takes place and without teaching, there can be no learning. If a tree falls apart and no one is there to hear it, is a sound made?

What's happening today on television, on Sesame Street, on the news and reviews, and on other communications media is going to have a terrific impact on those of us in education and also upon the performance of children as they go into the first, second or third grades. If you are not ready, as a first or second grade teacher four or five years from now, to accept these children then you are going to lose them. You will have no motivation effect with them. Why? Because commercial television has been able to do things that we in education should have done and haven't been able to do. They were able to identify principles that relate directly to the child, from the standpoint of having his attention.

How many of you have had the chance to monitor television commercials? If you watch them, what are they about? They're full of enthusiasm. Children are learning. They can learn quickly and they can adapt to them. The classroom is gone forever, yet the first or second grade teacher comes in and says, "all right, let's be quiet boys and girls." They haven't been hearing that over television "Let's be quiet, boys and girls." What have they been hearing? "Good morning, everybody, how are you today! Today we are going to do this and this and this." They have catchy little tunes: "It's a new zoo review."

Some mornings I am in the process of shaving and my little girl will come in and say, "The New Zoo Review is on," and I say "Great" and drop everything I am doing, wrap a towel around me, and she and I go parading around the house singing the New Zoo Review song. We sit down and, boy, she is tuned right in on it. At three years of age, she can say, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, just as fast as you and I can. She can identify all the characters of the alphabet and numbers. She can spell her name, and she can begin to write. I am not talking about a child prodigy. I am talking about a child that has been exposed to the media of television and has been able to absorb that type of thing. I am talking about the type of child that, when she goes into the first grade, is going to be ready to learn something. She's going to be the type of child that is going to be challenged. But in that classroom, you know what other type of child we are going to find. We are going to find children that have not come in contact with this type of thing.

Point one that I am trying to make is that some of the problems that we have in reading are problems that have developed because a child has not had adequate preschool experiences to prepare him for elementary school. Some of our head start programs have done this; some of our programs we have in the community have done this; some of the Sunday Schools have done this; some television programs have done this. Some parents have done this; and by the same token, there are parents that have not done anything.

Recent studies in the State of Texas with the Mexican child coming to Texas and the native Texans that speak Spanish here, have indicated that the child that comes from Mexico is a better achiever in the Texas schools than the child that is natively born of Spanish-speaking parents here in Texas. The reason is quite obvious: the children from Mexico are more intelligent. No! They are not more intelligent. What has happened, then? The child that came from Mexico had some type of orientation to pre-school experiences. He learned certain vocabulary words; he learned certain side words; he also began to learn the alphabet in Spanish; and he began to learn the numbers in Spanish. When he came to this country, what did he do? He merely made the adaption to a brand new code. What I suggest to you is that there are children today in families all across the nation, specifically in the five states that I mentioned earlier, whose children are not receiving pre-school experiences to prepare them for elementary school. Now certainly the outgrowth of this is that they will not have full comprehension skills, full vocabulary skills, or full word attack skills, but the teacher in the classroom is still the key. She as an individual is going to have to perceive that there are children that come into her classroom that know all of these things that are up here and that there are children that know none of it. Where the home has failed to provide, the school has to provide. The school has to make adaptations by developing adequate bilingual programs. Dr. Severo Gomez said it this morning, our speaker said it this morning, and I am saying it to you right now: Bilingual Education means the education of children in two languages, the proficiency of children to function in two languages, but you have to have something to start with. You have to have a dominant language and if you are a school administrator and you begin to wonder whether to have a bilingual program or not, you have to be aware of the fact that you have a population of children in your state or in your city that are bilingual.

We have primarily used the Bilingual connotation today in reference to the Mexican American or Spanish-speaking child, but there are other bilingual programs. There are bilingual programs in New Orleans which are French. There are bilingual programs in Schulenburg here in the State of Texas that are German. Bilingual does not necessarily mean Mexican American nor Spanish-speaking. Bilingual refers to two languages which you want to put together. You have got to realize that you have to have a base protected and a base somehow developed, and that there are children that don't get this. How many children have had the opportunity for this type of orientation? How many children have had the opportunity for this type of orientation? How many children have had either a father, mother, brother, sister, a kindergarten or a head start type of early childhood program where they learn the alphabet? You can never teach a child that "a" is for apple unless he sees an apple and identifies that character as an "a", regardless of whether we are speaking in Spanish or in English. The characters are the same. An "a" in Spanish is an "a" in English. A "b" in Spanish is a "b" in English. What a child learns is the ability to communicate in both languages. Not too long ago, I got a letter from the Education Testing Service in Princeton, New Jersey, saying, "We finally achieved it. We finally made it. We have taken the GED and have translated it into Spanish. Now we are going to be able to take care of all those Mexican Americans that live in the Valley because now they can take the test in their own language." I answered by saying, "Since when do we make such assumptions and assume that those assumptions are correct? Just because a person can speak a language does not insure the fact that he can read that language." If anything, the Mexican American of the South can probably do better on an English GED than they can in Spanish. I have looked at the Spanish GED and you are going to have to know pretty good Castillian to take it because there are certain words that do not occur in the vocabulary in use. The fact that an individual can speak a language does not insure that he can read the language.

In America today, there are 13 million Americans of every color, size, and shape. Thirteen million of them that cannot read. I suggest to you that those thirteen million have an oral language communication ability. Frank Macdoby, who used to be at this university, once stated that, "It's acceptable language if an individual says I ain't got none, because if he ain't got none that means that you know he doesn't have any. He still makes himself understood. Far too often we have let these complications come up and when we see a child in the Valley, in California, in Colorado, or any place else, that can speak the language, you cannot assume that because that child can speak the language he can read the language. He has developed only one code, a speaking code, but he also has to develop a listening code; he also has to develop a reading code; and he also has to develop a writing code. Many children have never developed one single code.

When I get home tomorrow, my little girl will probably greet me, take me by the hand, take me outside to the swing set, and she will get me to swing her. And you will say, "What is so good about that? Every child would like to do that. They are being pacified." Yes, and perhaps we do pacify a lot of children just by swinging them; perhaps we pacify a lot of children by putting them in front of a television set. Perhaps we pacify a lot of children by buying them things; but there is more to it than that. I will sit down in front of her and I will swing her but while I am swinging her, we sing any number of songs. We say any number of poems. We tell any number of stories and any number of rhymes, as a result of that, she has developed a good language proficiency. How many children have this opportunity?

Come to me and tell me that you have a child with language problems, that cannot read, and I'll say, "What did you do in those early years with the children?" This is why, perhaps, it is very important that we as classroom teachers, supervisors, principals, and administrators realize that when a teacher walks into a classroom, we have to say more than "Let's turn to Page 25 and begin reading." There has to be some kind of orientation to what's going on in the world today. Let the children have the opportunity to sit there and get their feet on the ground. Say to a child, "When I step up to get a drink, sometimes it doesn't work the way you expect. I turn down the faucet and the water hits me on my nose." When you begin saying this quote by Robert Louis Stevenson to a lot of children, those children will develop concepts, oral language skills, and he will remember those things, "Who has seen the wind, neither I nor you. The winter leaves hang trembling, the wind is passing thru." We have used a lot of this development for nothing more than to pacify and to entertain children, but there is a learning example that goes into it. Show me a child that has the warmth of the parent; show me a child that has had the warmth of a teacher at an early year; and I will show you a child that is motivated. I will show you a child that will learn.

POINT TWO: If point one says that there are many children in America today that have inadequate pre-school experiences, point two says that there are many children that get into the classrooms, with or without these pre-school experiences, and once they get there, find that reading becomes a very difficult, unpleasant act or experience for them. How many of you remember the way you learned to read? How many of you can sit back and say, "I remember. I remember going over all the vowel sounds. I remember going over all the rules and syllabication, I remember all the spelling words." No, you probably don't remember. You went to school, and you were there. Don't sit back and believe the children go to school to learn. Children go to school as an excuse for doing something else along the way. Children are nothing more than energy, clothed with personality, and they go to school to get themselves out of work at home, get themselves out of their mamas' hair, give themselves an opportunity to play with other boys and girls at recess time, and give themselves the experience to do things.

Now, granted, there are a lot of children that go to school that are not prepared. They do not even know what school is about. If you have looked around at all the faces of the children, you can identify those children that get in your hair. You can identify the children that are very quiet and always do what you want them to do. You can identify the children that you have shouted at and you can identify the children to whom all you have to do is say, "sss," and they tune up just like that. Some children are quiet and some are not. There are some children that are called "who" children. You walk in and you say, "alright boys and girls, let's all have a seat," or maybe you walk in and put your paddle down and say, "Who"? It doesn't make any difference why "Who" wants to call the row. "Who" wants to come up here and sit by me. "Who" wants to go the the principal's office? "Who" wants to have something to eat? "Who" wants to do anything, he is a "who" kid. His arm is up and he is just jumping. He is trying to get your attention. He is a "who" kid, a kid that is not tense or unhappy about anything.

Then there is a group of "what" children. You couldn't get them to volunteer for anything, you have to just beg them to do something. There are some children in reading that are very, very tense and unhappy about reading. There are some children that are not. To some children you can say, "Alright, who wants to read for me today?" A boy will begin to read and every other word will have to be read for him. It doesn't bother him one bit. The kids may laugh at him and say, "Oh no, not him again." He runs around, gives them a big grin, and says, "Uh huh, I am gonna read again." After a whole paragraph, he's read ten words and gotten help on forty. He may say, "I did real good, didn't I?" I suggest that this kid does not have a worry in the world. He is going to find his way.

By the same token, you are going to find that little child in the classroom that you call upon to read and he may miss one word, one word in the whole paragraph, and it just destroys that child. He knows that he is going to be the child to read. His palms begin to perspire and his little heart begins to beat like heck and he begins to tremble. Reading is not a happy experience for him. I say to you as a teacher, what do you do to make reading a happy experience for him?

There may be a child that was taken out of town by his family, and had no choice. Perhaps he was also a forgetful child. How many of us remember how it was like to leave a book in the school house? And when you sat down to do homework that night, realize that the book wasn't there, and rush right on to the school house to find out that the custodian was gone and school closed. You have to face the teacher the next morning with the fact that "I forgot my book and I don't have my homework." What do we do then, as teachers, to build up a humanistic approach with children? What do we do to ease the difficulties that children have concerning adaptation to a classroom? If you are the classroom teacher that uses oral language or oral reading, can you tell me why? "Well, is it because they did it when you were in school?" If you are going to do oral reading, do oral reading because it develops articulation; or because it helps the child pronounce different words; or because the child needs help with comprehension skills, or with concept development. Perhaps you can also begin to see if a child has a stuttering problem, or whether he is sounding out his words. If you can do it from that standpoint, then know why. But don't force every child to do oral reading if he is the type of child that gets his heart right up his throat when you ask him to do it.

Talk to me about reading. First of all you have to tell me something about the personal relationship that you, as a teacher, have with your child. You have to understand a child first. You have to have love for him. You have to develop a certain amount of discipline within him and you have to offer him a certain amount of security. But if you are the type of teacher that puts that child in an awkward position often, what is going to happen to his self-concept? There was once an old theologian who was asked to comment on those qualifications necessary for those in teaching. He said "If I were asked what single qualification was necessary, I would say patience. Patience with a child's progress, his temper, his understanding." It's not brilliant accomplishments nor degrees that are necessary for those of us that teach children, but rather the patience to go over principles again, and again, and again without invitation.

Where are we? Invariably graduate students say, "My philosophy of education is to teach a whole child, to take him from where he is to as far as he can go." We have given so much lip service to that. How are you going to find where that child is, if you don't do something to try to find him? You are going to have a hard time trying to teach the little boy with the frog in his pocket some of the principles associated with social studies when that thing keeps moving around. You are going to have an awful time trying to teach health to the little girl back there that is worried about her little knee. And you are going to have a more difficult time trying to teach some principle associated with reading to the little boy that has to go the bathroom and is gritting his teeth while you don't pay any attention to him. A lot of what happens in the classroom depends on what we as teachers do to create a good classroom environment.

POINT THREE: If point one says that there are children that are ill-prepared for school and point two says that we've got a lot of children that are unhappy about reading because of the way we impose our own values upon them, point three says that, sooner or later, you are gonna come face to face with a kid that says, "I don't want to learn to read. I dare you to teach me to read."

What do you do from the standpoint of motivation for this child? What do you do from the standpoint of learning? The child that comes out to you and says, "I dare you to teach me to read" is the type of child that is most often saying, "I wish there was something that I could read that I could really enjoy." Those things are there. Those books are there for those children, but it behooves you, as an individual, to do it.

There is a technique called, "Selling a Book." I Believe that before you can get children hooked on a book, you have got to give the children some sort of insight to the fact that you enjoy reading books and that you have read these books, however elementary they may have been.

You cannot separate reading, motivation, and learning, no more than you can separate teaching and learning. If a teacher is a dedicated teacher and the type of person she should be, she is going to be able to motivate children because she is going to be involved with the children. If she is the type of person that doesn't enjoy children putting their arms around her, hugging her and saying they love her, if she doesn't enjoy sitting down around a reading circle and having children hang all over her, if she doesn't enjoy sitting at her desk and having children coming by her desk and rub up against her, she has no business in education. She should have chosen something else besides teaching. If there is a problem somewhere that you either have a group of children that are tense and unhappy about the school situation and therefore are not able to function, or that you have a group of children that are ill prepared for school or that you have a group of children that are so calloused they say, "I don't want any part of it and I dare you to teach me."

What we are trying to say, in effect, is that we want to develop a group of children that have a proficiency in two languages, an ability to function, to listen, to speak, to read and to write in Spanish as well as in English. Reading is a difficult, complex skill. It is not an easy skill.

There are people who say that the best way to teach a kid how to swim is to pick him up, throw him in about ten feet of water, and tell him to swim out. I suggest that they would lose an awful lot of us that way. If you say that the best way to teach a Mexican American to read is just to throw him into a classroom and say, "Read. Sink or swim," that is why we lost, and we are losing, 80% of them.

This is why not too long ago a survey was taken by the Texas Education Agency to determine the self-concept of the Mexican American. They questioned a group of Anglo high school seniors and a group of Mexican Americans that were also seniors in the

Texas schools. They were asked, "Do you believe that you can accomplish what you want in your lifetime?" Seventy percent of the Anglos answered affirmatively. Only fifteen percent of the Mexican Americans answered affirmatively. Why the big difference? A lot of the difference comes from those of us that they have used as models. What kind of model do we present? A lot of it comes from teaching. There has always been an attitude among the teaching profession that says, "If you can't be a great athlete, you can teach physical education. If you can't be a good musician, you teach music. If you can't be a great reader, you teach reading." Not so. If anything, it will be just the opposite. Those that are the most proficient athletes should be coaches. Those that are the most proficient musicians should be teachers of music. Teaching should be a proud profession. It's the child's mind and the future that we have as a society.

What about reading? What about motivation? What about learning? Don't begin to associate these with systems or raw scores. Show me a successful teacher and I will show you a group of happy children, well motivated, learning in the classroom. Show me the teacher who drags herself to class in the morning, who doesn't enjoy teaching, who can only look to the day when she retires, who looks forward to the weekend, and I'll show you children who are not motivated, who are very unhappy, and who drop out. When you look back to reading, it involves the teacher, and the teacher involves the child, and the child involves our future. Those individuals that are happy, well-adjusted adults were once upon a time happy well-adjusted children. That segment of society that we have today that is angry at the world is made up of the type of people who were that way as children because perhaps they remember angry parents. Somewhere, we have to say that there is a priority in life which is education, and not money, nor power. If those other things are going to come, education will have to come first.

May I share this closing thought with you:

For the man that possesses the saving grace,
of a laughing heart and a smiling face,
Who can sing at his work and laugh at defeat,

Who looks for the good, the swell, and
  the sweet,
And who cheers for his friends in word
  and deed,
This world is a pleasant place, indeed.

PENSAMIENTOS SOBRE LA LITERATURA CHICANA

Rafael Jesús González

Cuando recibí la amable invitación para dirigir la palabra a esta distinguida concurrencia, me enfrenté a varios problemas que solo yó podría solucionar. ¿Con que máscara me pregunté - desean que les dirija la palabra? ¿Como México Americano? ¿Perito? ¿Poeta? Son tantas las máscaras que tiene un hombre y tantas son sus voces. Escogí, entonces, la voz de poeta, no porque necesariamente sea la que encuentre más fácil, sino que es la voz que más me sabe a verdad. La autoridad con que les hablo es solamente la caótica voz de la musa, el orden que doy a la experiencia de la literatura México Americana es el orden que creo como escritor y no como perito.

Pero, ¿qué lengua prestaré a esa voz? Como Mexicano nacido al norte del Río Bravo, soy heredero de dos musas que hablan distintas lenguas y no siempre se llevan bien una con la otra. Como ven, escogí la lengua de mis padres--ya no sé si por cariño, por conveniencia o por desafío. (Al entregarme a mi musa mexicana me zumbó muy atrás de la frente la pequeña avispa de una duda: ¿Hablamos entre nos, los Mexico Americanos? Pero decidí ignorar la duda--hablemos abiertamente; si el poeta no les habla a todos, no le habla a nadie.)

Tomando entonces la máscara de poeta de habla-española, me enfrenté al tema de mi conversación: *Literatura México Americana.* Si les dijera a mis amigos en Sevilla, París, Viena, Edinburgo, Copenhagen que soy México Americano, lanzarían una carcajada. Para ellos se entiende que si uno es mexicano, es naturalmente americano--hay solo un México y este se encuentra en Norte América. Hay pensadores que han dicho que todo problema es problema de nombres Si se le pudiera dar nombre a toda experiencia humana, la solución a todo problema fácilmente se encontraría. No estoy convencido que sea esto la verdad--muy grande es Dios y muy frágiles son las palabras--pero es interesante la idea. Lo que sé es que el que no tiene nombre es un desconocido y que al ciudadano de los Estados Unidos de América careciendo de un nombre propio le hemos llamado en

Latino América gringo, es decir, extranjero, desconocido. Sería entonces más significante llamarle al mexicano que se encuentra ligado a la ciudadanía estado-unidense mexicano-gringo aunque sea lamentable que la honorable palabra indígena significando simplemente desconocido o extranjero haya adquirido tan grande peso de rencor. (El porqué de esto es evidente para el que se interese examinar la historia de los Estados Unidos; solo les recordaré que el suelo en que en este momento pisamos es solo estado-unidense por conquista y, aun más, por conquista de poca honra --pero dejemos de viejas riñas y rencores. Como Juan de Dios Peza ha escrito de la conquista española de México:

> Si a la justicia destronó el capricho
> Si está con sangre escrita cada hazaña,
> ¡Ah! yo diré lo que Quintana ha dicho:
> "Crímenes son del tiempo y no de España".

México y España, CANTOS DEL HOGAR

El problema más grave que nos enfrenta a los mexicanos-gringos es precisamente el problema de la identidad, el problema que el antiguo Nahua plantó como "hacerse dueño de un rostro, de un corazón," el problema de adquirir un nombre. Pero, ¿qué ángel se prestará a ser nuestro padrino? Y ¿en qué mito se encuentra oculto nuestro nombre? Hablando por mi parte, nunca me he considerado algo más ni menos que mexicano aunque políticamente he sido considerado estado-unidense, es decir, gringo. Pero esto trae problemas; mis hermanos al sur del Río Bravo me ven como manito o Pocho y mis hermanos al norte del Río Bravo me ven como "wet-back" or "spik." Nos encontramos en un limbo, ese borde de la luna a donde van las almas de los niños no bautizados. Pero, contrario a la doctrina, aún en limbo hay rebeldía y si no se nos permite ser lo uno ni lo otro, nos daremos nombre a simismos. El nombre que ha escogido nuestra juventud (y es ella la que cuenta ya que en sus entrañas reside el futuro) es el de Chicano, nombre encontrado entre los tepalcates de lo que nos queda de la cultura madre que conservamos, casi como contrabando, en un ambiente hostil y exigente. Es un nombre de crudo barro, es un tepalcate, pero lleva en si bien visible las señas de México, un fragmento de un diseño entero y bello del cual podremos, si no reconstruir el original, elaborar algo nuevo que liga estrechamente la grandeza de nuestro pasado mexicano con un futuro de vagas pero gloriosas posibilidades en que existan una multiplicidad de diferencias pero no fronteras.

Fronteras--concepto que para mí siempre fue increíble y, entre más se desarrolla en mí el entendimiento, más ficticio se hace. (Para decirles la verdad, ya ni mexicano ni gringo soy--mi país es la tierra y mi compatriota es el hombre.) Pero sé que hablo del futuro, que hablo solamente de las vistas que abre la musa y aunque las fronteras entre pueblos estén en proceso de derrumbarse, todavía existen y en sus nombres sufren, mueren, y se matan unos a los otros, hombres de carne y hueso. Y aunque hablemos entre nosotros del Aztlán, reconoscamos que es un Aztlán dividido por una frontera política y aún cultural--Aztlán es solamente una sombra emplumada que invade los sueños de nuestra memoria Nahua. Las fronteras existen y como siempre el único modo de transcenderlas es por un enriquecimiento de la conciencia, un salto de fé, en que se rompen definiciones porque, al ensancharse, el alma busca, como la noche de García-Lorca, más y más amplios llanos para hincarse.

Entendamos bien la estupenda y terrible verdad que toda frontera la construye o la derrumba la inteligencia del hombre. Estrechas son las fronteras si mezquino es el hombre y se deja llevar por los miedos y los rencores. Amplias son si sano es su sentido de si (rica en verdades la lengua castiza que usa la misma palabra para designar el yo y la afirmación que estrechamente ligados son.) Pero he aquí la terrible paradoja: Para poder bien ampliar la conciencia (en ambos sentidos de la palabra) se tiene que ser bien definido uno en si, tiene que tener bien formado el rostro y el corazón, conocer bien lo que define el yo que le da forma, lugar, ser en el caos que es la realidad. Sólo le podremos dar forma y con la palabra crear el universo, y un universo cada vez más amplio, cada vez más capaz de contener todos los sueños, todas las variedades, todas las contradicciones que es nuestra existencia, si nos sentimos bien plantados en el centro de nuestro ser.

El hombre se siente perdido y abandonado en el universo a causa precisamente de lo que le da la gloria: el pensar. Careciendo de reglas instintivas que naturalmente lo relacionen con su mundo como es con las abejas y los peces, el hombre ha tenido que crear como sustituto a esos instintos la cultura, el mito, las imágenes y símbolos que según los indios Huicholes son lo que hacen rica a la gente.

Con razón se ha dicho que todo regalo de los dioses es una espada de doble filo, toda moneda es águila y sol, y el mexicano bien donado en símbolos ha sido por sus dioses. Esta gran riqueza cultural ha traído en si un gran problema puesto que el mexicano ha tenido que formar una síntesis de dos mundos, el español y el indígena. Bien conocemos los pensadores que se han enfrentado a este problema tan mexicano, entre ellos D. José Vasconcelos, Samuel Ramos, Octavio Paz, Carlos Fuentes etc., pero imagínense el problema de los Chicanos que no sólo hemos heredado el dilema de la identidad mexicana, una cierta vergüenza hacia la madre indígena y un cierto rencor hacia al padre europeo, pero también hemos tenido que integrar en nuestro sentido del yo nuestras circunstancias como ciudadanos de los Estados Unidos, cultura teutónica y puritana que constantemente pone a prueba nuestras más básicas premisas culturales. Y es grande el esfuerzo, y mucho a costado, conservar nuestra mexicanidad en esta cultura anglo-sajona.

El por qué de esto tiene sus razones históricas. Los EE. UU. son herederos de una mentalidad en isla, de la mentalidad puritana que ve todo en blanco y negro y se siente incapaz frente a la diversidad del prisma, una mentalidad exclusiva, celosa, arrogante y falta de tolerancia. Una vista del mundo que le permitió en sangre fría destruir por completo las culturas indígenas que encontraba. En nada se refleja más bien esta mentalidad de isla como en la tan gringa teoría del crisol ("Melting Pot Theory"). Según esta teoría, la grandeza de los EE. UU. se forma cuando las diversas culturas que traen sus inmigrantes entran en el crisol estado-unidense y toman en la fundición una uniformidad completa. Robert N. Bellah en su ensayo "Evil and the American Ethos" (SANCTIONS FOR EVIL, Nevitt Sanford and Craig Comstock, ed., Jossey-Bass Inc., San Francisco 1971) cita un festival que formó Henry Ford en la segunda década de nuestro siglo en que construyó un gran crisol fuera las puertas de su fábrica. En este crisol entraban bailando grupos de inmigrantes ricamente ataviados en sus trajes típicos cantando las canciones de sus pueblos. Del otro lado del gigantesco crisol salía una sola fila de gringos todos uniformemente vestidos a la moda contemporánea y cantando el himno nacional. Es esta mentalidad que tiene la audacia de atreverse a llamarles "culturalmente deprivados" a esos grupos dentro sus fronteras que, a costa de bienestar económico, han conservado los preciosos vestigios de sus ricos pasados.

Y el más importante de estos grupos es el Chicano que a pesar de algunos renegados, algunos concientemente agringados, ha celosamente conservado lo que ha podido de su mexicanidad. Y con razón, ¿cuándo nos ha satisfecho un solo color? Muy estrechamente ligados somos a la tierra y su ley no es la de la uniformidad sino la de la multiplicidad. Lo uniforme procede de la fábrica y no de la naturaleza. Si uniforme tenemos es el sarape mexicano en que se estalla y sangra con todos sus colores el sol.

Pero para conservar en una cultura los valores, especialmente los valores sacros (véase Chester C. Christian Jr., THE ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL DIFFERENCES: A PROPOSED MODEL, Monograph No. 23, 1970, Georgetown University School of Languages and Linguistics) es preciso tener una lengua, un modo de expresar esos valores, esas experiencias. Y es precisamente esto lo que se nos ha negado a los chicanos. En su anhelo por la uniformidad, el gringo ha insistido que solo el inglés se hable (ni sus embajadores se dignan a aprender las lenguas de los países a que van) y ha concientemente tratado de destruir de raíz el español, la lengua de nuestros padres. Bien me acuerdo los regaños que me lanzaban los maestros en mi niñez cuando me oían hablar español en los corredores o patio de recreo de la escuela. Fuí afortunado en que mis padres son cultos y yo ya sabía leer en español antes de que comenzara mis estudios en inglés y afortunado fuí en criarme en la frontera cerca de México. Pero ¿qué de los chicanos cuyos padres no tenían los conocimientos para inculcarles el español? ¿De qué armas disponían para defenderse cuando la maestra los avergonzaba frente al resto de la clase? Recordemos bien lo sensible, lo vulnerable que es un niño, especialmente ante el escarnio, la burlesca carcajada, el apodo despreciable. Y, bien, se ha desarrollado lo chicano casi sin lengua--ni el inglés que resistía, ni el español que se le negaba. ¿Con qué lengua se ha podido al expresarse formar un rostro y un corazón el chicano? Hasta su propio nombre se le niega. Bien sé yo lo que he tenido que pelear para conservar mi propio nombre. Constantemente me lo quieren cambiar a "Ralph" y escribir González con ese. Los Rafaeles se hacen Ralphs; los Andreses, Andrews; los Arturos, Arthurs; los Nicolases, Nicks; los Gilbertos, Gilberts; los Rodolfos, Rudy y los Ricardos, Richards y lo único que les queda como recuerdo es el apellido castizo que muchas veces ni escriben ni pronuncian como debe ser. He aquí el Mexicano-gringo.

Largo ha sido este prólogo a mi discusión de la literatura chicana pero larga es nuestra historia y muy reciente es nuestra literatura: reciente, poca, y mezquina. Lo que ha pasado es que para la mayor parte de los chicanos no ha habido un pasado literario. La mayor parte no somos, como muchos creen, bilingües. Muchos somos monolingües y no en español ni en inglés. Se ha tenido que formar una nueva lengua, un menjurje compuesto de trocitos de caló, español arcaico, náhuatl, inglés, español e invenciones. Esta lengua es llamada por los linguistas Pachuco o Pocho (para un análisis del pachuco véase Rafael Jesús González, "Pachuco: The Birth of a Creole Language," ARIZONA QUARTERLY, vol. 23 No. 4, Winter 1967.) Y el Pachuco no es lengua escrita.

Como he dicho, para plantarse en sí mismo, para poder formarse un rostro y un corazón fuerte con relación a las cosas, es preciso que el hombre tenga una cultura que lo defina. Y solamente sintiéndose seguro en esta definición puede transcenderla, romper sus límites, dar el salto de lo particular a lo universal. Y es esto, ese elemento de lo universal que distingue lo sobresaliente en el arte. Pero apenas hemos adquirido un nombre y nuestra identidad está por definirse y apenas empieza nuestr arte. Y, como no hemos logrado lo particular, es difícil pedirle que sea universal. A lo que en mayor parte se reduce la literatura chicana es una rabia, una desenfrenada indignación compuesta de lemas y fórmulas y casi por completo careciendo de metáforas. Pero no estemos demasiado listos para aplicarle al arte chicano reglas tradicionales. La literatura chicana es literatura, en gran parte, de propaganda, literatura polémica cuya meta no es explorar lo más hondo, más personal del hombre y encontrándolo transcender a lo universal sino intenta de la raíz crear como dice Alurista (*Poem in Lieu of Preface*, AZTLAN, CHICANO JOURNAL OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE ARTS, vol. I No. 1, Spring 1970.) Y no basta plantear el problema solamente una vez sino repetirlo otra y otra vez para desahogarnos de la rabia, la indignación, el sentido de inferioridad para lentamente enfrentar el vacío en nuestro amor propio sobre el cual tendremos que formarnos un rostro y un corazón. Esto es precisamente lo que intentan los poetas Chicanos (me limitaré a la poesía del movimiento chicano a costa de ignorar tan excelentes prosistas como Amado Jesús Muro y otros tantos) herederos de los cuicanime de Anáhuac que buscaban en la poesía la verdad por la cual se endiosaba el corazón y se formaba el rostro. Y, dado el carácter de esta convención, me limitaré a solo un aspecto de la poesía chicana estrechamente ligado al problema de la identidad: el lenguaje que emplea.

Una de las sobresalientes características del verso chicano es el uso en la misma obra, y casi simultáneamente, del español y el inglés. Alurista es tal vez el más bien conocido poeta que emplea esta técnica:

> Mis ojos hinchados
> flooded with lágrimas
> de bronce
> melting on the cheek bones
> of my concern
> (*Mis ojos hinchados*, EL ESPEJO,
> Quinto Sol Publications, Berkeley
> 1969, p. 172)

Lo que se trata de hacer con esta técnica es reproducir el modo de pensar de mucho chicano que entrelace los dos idiomas ya que tiene un vocabulario incompleto en ambos.

Otro poeta que usa este método es José Montoya. Su verso *Forgive*?

> In the cold compassion
> Of my bosom
> Habrá perdón
> For
> My destructors?
> (MARK IN TIME, Nick Harvey, Ed.,
> Glide Publications, San Francisco
> 1971, p. 81)

la cultura chicana, reclutar a la juventud a una nueva conciencia de si misma, no solo como seres particulares sino como una fuerza política.

Faltas tiene pero esas faltas son las de una identidad incompleta como demuestra la obra Yo Soy Joaquín de Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzáles que tal vez sea la obra más típica de la literatura chicana. Como indica el título, lo que enfrenta esta obra es el problema del ser y lo que es Joaquín (léase chicano) es un compendio de contradicciones: Joaquín es el indio y el criollo, el señor y el escalvo, uno define al otro y a lo que se llega es un equilibrio dinámico que mantiene al filo del caos un orden precario. Y en este momento de peligro, de precaria integridad, exclama:

My faith unbreakable
My blood is pure

y es precisamente esa fé que hace la sangre pura puesto que el concepto de la pureza, de la esencia, de la integridad absoluta es solamente un ideal, un salto de fé, una mística experiencia a la cual se llega por la conciencia poética del chamán huichol y no la del tenedor de libros cuyo concepto del equilibrio es el balance seco y sin la agonía pero, por eso, sin el éxtasis de la existencia. Y al final de la obra da Joaquín con la base de su anhelo:

I SHALL ENDURE!
I WILL ENDURE!

la fé absoluta en la existencia de uno mismo.

De aquí ¿a dónde va la literatura chicana? Parece que Rodolfo Gonzales ha plantado el problema del chicano de una vez: somos una multiplicidad de contradicciones, nuestra identidad es fragmentaria, nos sentimos perdidos y si tanto nos golpeamos el pecho y alarde hacemos de nuestra chicanidad, es porque, como chiflando en una calle obscura, nos tenemos que dar aliento y valor, tenemos que buscar una patria, aunque sea puramente simbólica,

Aztlán
mythical land for those
who dream of roses and
swallow thorns

tiene alguna fuerza que creo más se debe a su indignación que al mérito de su lenguaje. (A veces entra una duda del dominio que tengan estos poetas sobre las dos lenguas que usan; por ejemplo, la palabra destructors. ¿La confundió el Sr. Montoya conscientemente decidió usar la imagen de quemadores de basura?) Lo mismo con su verso Pobre viejo Walt Whitman[1] (que tiene más que un vago eco de la Oda a Walt Whitman de Federico García-Lorca.)

A mi modo de ver, este uso simultáneo y sin razón poética del español y el inglés neutraliza la fuerza intrínseca que en diferentes maneras caracteriza ambas lenguas. Les advierto que este juicio mío sin duda viene de la insistencia en mi familia en que se hablase en forma pura el español y el inglés, y la mayoría de los poetas chicanos no tuvieron esta experiencia. De todas maneras, cuando escriben con más éxito los señores Alurista y Montoya es cuando se limitan en la misma obra a una u otra lengua, como en los versos cantos de ranas viejas

> -tempestuoso lamento de Tlaloc
> los iniciados reciben la sabia
> -del sol ojos de sapo
> (EL ESPEJO, p. 173)

y grietas paredes (¿grietadas paredes?)

> Eres barro
> -Ometeotl te moldeó
> de pómulos gatunos
> (EL ESPEJO, P. 175)

ambos de Alurista y Resonant Valley

> I knew, But how I knew!
> Why I was easy
> On the clusters--
> Careful with
> the leaves,
>
> Slow.
> (EL ESPEJO, pp. 190-191)

y La Cantinera de Stockton

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[1] EL ESPEJO, p. 180.

Angel masquerading as a
barmaid, your colorific
shell appropriately
deceives.
(EL ESPEJO, p. 192)

ambos de José Montoya. Estos versos del Sr. Montoya tal vez sean sus mejores por lo íntimamente personal que son, por su falta de polémica que les permite transcender de lo íntimo y personal a lo universal; en éstos no cabe duda de que sean directas experiencias de un hombre bien plantado en la soledad de su ser que habla por si mismo libre de pretenciones y alardes. Lo mismo con la oda a Pedro Infante (*Pedro*, MEXICAN-AMERICAN AUTHORS, Américo Paredes and Raymund Paredes, Eds., Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston 1972, p. 111) de Luis Omar Salinas, uno de los mejores poetas chicanos, escrita en un inglés completamente realizado pero con un sentimiento inconfundiblemente mexicano

Pedro I remember you
when I was a child
and how you brought tears
silence within silence

No deseo dejarles con la equivocada idea que categóricamente censuro en sí el uso del español y el inglés en una obra. Bien sé que amplia es la poesía y en ella cabe toda invención, pero toda técnica debe llevar un plan, una razón, tiene que servir a la obra poética que sí arbitraria es, encierra en sí sus propias reglas y formas. Lo que pasa con las obras en que simultáneamente se emplean el español y el inglés es que no puedo yo discernir el por qué de dicha técnica. En cambio hay unas en que sí son bien claras las razones como en *los vatos* de Montoya (EL ESPEJO, p. 187) en la cual el diálogo de personas chicanas forma íntegra parte:

"The boys!" called his mother, and
her innocence made lacerations on his
torpid mind. "Benito, the guys want
you, ven! Cuidado, and don't stay out
late!" She warned, in false concern.
Benny is a good boy!

Creo que lo que pasa es que toda lengua, o más bien toda lengua que tenga una literatura establecida, existe en dos formas: la forma oral y cotidiana y la forma escrita y literaria. La segunda forma es mucho más formal y conciente de si. Como en Pachuco no ha existido forma literaria, los intentos de usar esa lengua netamente oral y cotidiana en tal forma resulta un tanto esforzada, un tanto desentonada, al menos que su intención sea la de expresarse en todo su contenido cotidiano, costumbrista como lo hizo José Hernández con el idioma gaucho en *Martín Fierro* y lo hace Alurista con el pachuco en *tarde sobria*

> go see Virginia
> mañana el jale
> pero "orita" el tiempo es mio
> (EL ESPEJO, p. 173)

En la cual verdaderamente usa el pachuco y no una arbitraria mezcla de español e inglés. José Montoya en su elegía *El Louie* en que presenta el mundo, la vida, la muerte de un chicano cuyo ambiente es la calle usa también a mayor ventaja el pachuco auténtico

> No llores, Carmen we can
> handle 'em.
> Ese, 'on tal Jimmy?
> Horale, Louie!
> Where's Primo?
> Va 'ver catos!

que en muchos aspectos recuerda las rimas vernáculas de Carlos Rivas Larrauri (*Del arrabal*, México 1937). [Aquí cabe mencionar otra obra, también una elegía del mismo tipo, *To a Dead Lowrider* de J. L. Navarro (CON SAFOS, pp. 2627)] En otras, por ejemplo *Forgive*? (MARK IN TIME, p. 81) lo que usa el Sr. Montoya no es pachuco sino una mezcla de inglés y español y no el inglés o español cotidiano sino literario

> La mente, al contrario
> Is an omniscient,
> Indigenous,
> Unyielding thing

Lo que se busca es la autenticidad, la autenticidad que tiene el español, el inglés, y el pachuco cuando son verdaderamente español, inglés, o pachuco. Y el pachuco, cuando intenta ser netamente literario, carece de autenticidad. El pachuco es una lengua que se desarrolló de cierta ignorancia, del analfabetismo para expresar los sufrimientos, las alegrías, los miedos de la calle, del pobre hogar, no las ideas filosóficas y políticas de la aula académica. Para poder desarrollar las más sofisticadas ideas o los más sutiles sentimientos que se encuentra incapaz y lo que resulta no es pachuco sino una simple mezcla de inglés y español un tanto rebuscado. Y entendamos bien, la mayoría de los poetas chicanos, si alguna vez hayan sido, ya no son de la calle, ni mucho menos analfabetos. De la poesía verdaderamente proletaria se puede decir poco. Por ejemplo, el verso Men's Pride de F. Ricardo Gómez (FORGOTTEN PAGES OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, Gerald W. Haslam, ed., Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston 1970, pp. 228-229) fue originalmente publicado en español y en inglés en EL MALCRIADO y no se indica cual versión es la original. Casi todos han asistido a colegios y universidades, como Luis Omar Salinas (MEXICAN-AMERICAN AUTHORS, p. 111), Miguel Ponce (EL ESPEJO, p. 162) y Richard Olivas (MEXICAN AMERICAN AUTHORS, p. 149) si no son profesores Alurista, José Montoya, Esputián (EL ESPEJO, p. 194), Ernie Padilla (EL GRITO, vol. III No. 1, fall 1969, p. 49) y Tomás Rivera (ibid., p. 56) entre tantos.

La literatura chicana se desarrollará a su máximo cuando reconozca y acepte las limitaciones del pachuco y se haga dueña de lo que es suyo por herencia, el español y el inglés, sin rencor hacia al uno ni al otro sino, reconociendo que participa en dos o tres mundos (puesto que cada lengua es un mundo) los transcenda todos y llegue a un sentido de comunidad con el mundo entero.

No pretendamos que esta plática sea más de lo que es; no un análisis difinitivo sino las reacciones, tal vez los prejuicios, de un poeta que también se encuentra chicano pero que antes de todo es un hombre con sus propias historias, sus propios sueños, sus propias visiones, sus propias verdades. Tal vez me haya limitado excesivamente en mi tratado de la literatura chicana. Tal vez haya escogido los poetas y ejemplos que más vindiquen mi punto de vista creyéndolos los más típicos--no lo sé. Ya ni sé cuantas máscaras usé para dirigirles la palabra: la de poeta, filósofo, crítico, antropólogo, linguista, historiador, sociólogo, etc. No importa; todas son mías, tan mías como el español y el inglés que me permiten con tanta certeza descreer en las fronteras. Y esto, esta repudiación, este transcender de fronteras es lo preciso. No, no solamente para el chicano, sino para el mexicano, el chino, el alemán, el sudafricano, y más que nadie, para el estadounidense americano.

Tenemos que respetar lo sacro que es toda visión del hombre, todas sus formas de pensar y todas sus lenguas sin las cuales no hay pensamiento. Y más, si intencionalmente optamos por ignorar las lenguas de nuestros compatriotas como se ha hecho en los EE. UU., nos enpobrecemos a si mismos, nos deformamos la conciencia como los antiguos chinos deformaban los pies de sus damas. Y ya en el mundo no cabe la conciencia deformada porque ya tenemos el poder en nuestras manos de destruir al mundo, de destruirnos a si mismos. El lugar en que nos encontramos esta mañana (The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library) es símbolo, monumento a la conciencia deformada. A veces me pregunto - ¿sufriríamos tantas injurias los chicanos si nuestros compatriotas gringos hablaran el español? ¿Seríamos tan prontos a matar, a tan completamente destruir a los vietnameses si habláramos su lengua, leyéramos sus poesías?

Algunos investigadores de la incipiente cultura chicana nos han descrito como "una gente que despierta" (la exelente monografía de John Haddox, LOS CHICANOS, AN AWAKENING PEOPLE, Southwestern Studies No. 28, Texas Western Press, El Paso 1970.) Y de eso precisamente se trata, de despertar, de adueñarnos de nuestras dos lenguas, español e inglés, y con ellas ampliar nuestras conciencias, con ellas formarnos un rostro y un corazón porque a falta de esto perdurarán para el chicano las condiciones que una vez tuve ocasión de describir (*sur* *El Paso*, EL GRITO, vol, III No. 1, fall 1969, p. 40):

Las mejillas del alba
    están arañadas -
los pavimentos
    vomitan basura.
        ¡LLora, hijo, llora!
Las lunas son navajas de acero,
los soles son lluvias de orines
    y hay muecas de tortuga
    que celebran gritos
    con voz de clarines.
La mata verde-seco
y el cactus redondo
    dan sueños que sangran
    por humos y zumos

con sabor a hiel.
¡Coge tu guitarra,
cuelga tu melena
polvorosa y negra
sobre el mirasol!
Que aquí no hay obsidiana
y la lengua castiza
está jorobada
y están las razones
en el claro alcohol.

Pero porque ya no cabe la conciencia en isla, tendremos que despertar todos, no solamente los chicanos sino nuestros compatriotas los gringos porque si nos perdemos unos, nos perdemos todos. Ya el mundo no es ancho y ajeno, es estrecho y nuestro, nuestro de todos los hombres y si el mundo tendremos que compartir, nuestras lenguas tendremos que comprender (recordemos que en la mayor parte de América, en la parte que está por estallar, se habla el espanol.) A peligro de caer en arrogancia, les dejaré la tenue sugestión de que tal vez sea nuestra misión del chicano, si sabemos formarla, despertar la cultura estado-unidense a un nuevo amanecer donde la condición humana ya no pueda tolerar, a peligro de muerte, fronteras estrechamente definidas. Ya está por suceder, esta convención es una seña, ya la juventud se siente ciudadana del mundo, ya se amplea la consiencia humana, ya está, si sobrevive la crisis, por formarse un rostro y endiosarse su corazón.

TEACHING SPANISH TO ENGLISH SPEAKING CHILDREN

Anita García

The Texas Education Agency put out Bulletin No. 621 entitled What Do We Know About Foreign Language Instruction?" This bulletin consisting of guidelines for planning and teaching modern foreign languages served as the basis for this presentation today.

I think all of us will agree that the chief purpose of studying a modern foreign language is for "mastery of the language" as a means of communication and that language as a communication skill is best developed on the basis of the spoken word. Time was when all of us here studied a foreign language under the traditional approach that did not accomplish this purpose, for this approach ignored principles of natural language behavior. Today, however, we are living in a world that requires communication between people of different cultures. And today I believe all teachers of modern language are familiar with the term audio-lingual, a term which came into being as a result of World War II. During World War II, there became apparent an acute shortage of citizens with the ability to speak a foreign language. So after the War, colleges and a group of leading secondary teachers began to experiment with materials and techniques based on linguistics which had met with success in language training programs for the military. Their adaptations evolved into the method known as the "audio-lingual approach" with remarkable changes in language teaching and language learning. This methodology stresses the development of all four language skills:

1. listening comprehension
2. speaking ability
3. reading
4. and writing... in that order.

Audio-lingual training is not haphazard. It must be scientifically developed and presented according to the best linguistic principles. And most teachers who have "tried" this method agree that it is the most effective approach to date.

What are the basic characteristics of audio-linguistic instruction? Effective audio-linguistic learning and teaching should be based on certain guiding principles:

> Basic Characteristics of Audio-Lingual Instruction
>
> 1. Language learning is sequential.
> The Audio-Lingual Method believes that the proper sequence for learning a foreign language is
>   1. hearing
>   2. speaking
>   3. reading
>   4. writing...
>
> ...There is professional agreement that students should hear and repeat a lesson before seeing it, even if the interval is only a few minutes of oral practice.
>
> It has been said:
>
> Do not write what you don't know
> how to read;
> Do not read what you don't know
> how to say;
> Do not say what you don't understand.
>
> 2. Language learning as a skill.
> The Audio-Lingual Method believes that learning a foreign language is a matter of learning a skill, not of assimilating a body of subject matter...

... in other words, no history with a long list of dates, no rules. Native speakers do not learn the rules before they learn to speak! (The "grammar rules" used in later formal study of one's native language are simply restatements of what has already been heard and said by the learner...now... the four language skills

.listening
.speaking
.reading, and
.writing

do not exist in isolation.

Progress in each skill influences achievement in another.

3. Language learning as habit forming. In order to learn any skill, proper habits must be developed. Learning a foreign language, hence, is essentially a habit forming operation,

so help your students to form habits! Don't find yourself spending the period lecturing to the students about Spanish! We are teaching a living language, and pupils must be provided with opportunities to use the language actively in real or simulated "true-to-life" situations.

4. Learning a language through activity. The only way to acquire a habit (in this case the mastering of a new language) is through activity and continuous repetition on the part of the student, who will only learn to the extent that he participates intelligently.

Now, there are two types of activities involved in language practice: conversations and structure drills. a. These conversations should be taken from real life situations of interest to the students...and they should be basic dialogues of authentic speech, meaningful and like that,of a native speaker, taught at a normal native speech rate and with idioms or colloquialisms currently used in the native country. In other words, they should reflect the way all educated people speak within conformity.
b. Structure drills (or pattern drills as we also know them) must systematically present different aspects of the language. This activity, if it is to be successful, must be carefully guided, though; drills must consist of examples of a single feature of grammar or pronunciation new to the student...
Drills should present only one structural point at a time in order to minimize confusion and error. Drills should be arranged so that there is not too much leeway for students to make mistakes. Material previously learned must be carefully interwoven with new learnings, and if mistakes are made, either in pronunciation or in grammar, the teacher immediately should correct the student by providing a correct model. The student should repeat it two or three times.

Fumbling should not be permitted - better still, fumbling should be avoided.

5. The Audio-Lingual Approach requires an initial period devoted exclusively to listening-speaking training without textbooks.

The length of this period may best be judged by the individual teacher who is aware of the needs and abilities of his students.

Carefully selected text materials are vital to the program, however, and are used as a basis for audio-lingual practice, as well as later for practice in reading and writing.

6. Vocabulary is learned in context.

It is preferable for students to master a more limited vocabulary and be able to use it actively in multiple structural forms for speaking and writing than to have a passing acquaintance with an extensive vocabulary they cannot manipulate. (A more extensive passive vocabulary is developed for understanding and reading.)

7. Periodic and systematic testing is an integral part of the teaching-learning process.

Adequate provision must be made for evaluating the listening-speaking skills, in addition to reading and writing, wherever the development of oral skills is a part of the instructional program. In no case should students be tested on skills not sufficiently developed in the course of study.

8. There should be the greatest possible use of the foreign language in class.

After initial orientation in English, the modern foreign language should be the language of the classroom. Some use of English may be necessary for explanations, emergencies, equivalencies, and to avoid unnecessary loss of class time; but care should be taken to avoid mixing the two languages. Effort should be made to make English temporarily inactive so that the student may learn to think in the new language.

9. Culture: the learning about the country and its people should be an integral part of the foreign language course throughout the sequence.

Competence in the use of the foreign language should be developed within the context of cultural information.

10. Formal translation from English into the modern foreign language, or the reverse, is to be avoided until the more advanced stages of language learning.

Translation should be used only as a literary exercise for a small part of the students' activity. Translation is an art that comes after the student knows the language; certainly not at the beginning stages.

11. Grammar: The learning of grammar is by analogy and is not in itself a goal.

High frequency structure patterns are presented and drilled orally in meaningful sentences and dialogs until they are mastered to the point that they are fixed, habitual, and automatic. Grammatical explanations, where necessary, may be given, but should, except for the more complex forms, follow initial drills. But remember: The learning of grammar is not in itself a goal.

12. The activity of the student should have the following goals:

    the ability to converse with considerable fluency and accuracy with an inhabitant of the country in question

    the understanding of the stress and intonation of the pronunciation

    the assimilation of the basic structures of the language through the correct structural and morphological features of the sentence

    the ability to read and write, but only after the oral and structural pattern has been learned.

What are some important techniques that the teacher should keep in mind when practicing the audio-lingual method? At first, new material is presented to the class by the teacher and he controls the rate of introduction. (Later in the course, when sound and basic structures are well established, new material can be presented effectively by a recorded source.) The basic material for each unit is a dialog based on social situations common to the culture of the country where the language is spoken. The model utterances contained in the dialog should be authentic speech patterns based on high frequency or most common structures and vocabulary of the spoken language. "Meaning" is presented in several ways:

1. a brief description in English- "Two students meet on their way to the discotheque; one of them discovers he forgot his money."
2. gestures and/or facial expressions, props
3. visuals
4. translation of whole dialog (such as ALM does).

In dialogs, conversational forms of the language are used, proceeding from two or more persons talking about themselves to talking about other people and things. Narratives and descriptions are gradually added. Mimicry-memorization practice, usually with the model sentences of the dialog, follows listening practice. At this stage, numerous repetitions in imitation of the models should be provided in order to secure automatic responses (complete memorization). Although the model sentences contain examples of structure and vocabulary, initial emphasis in listening and speaking practice is on sound. Correct pronunciation, rhythm, and intonation are stressed. The models should be complete utterances in meaningful context. Listen and speak, drill, manipulate! After adequate listening practice, which establishes sound discrimination and comprehension, responses to spaced-model-utterances begins. The term "utterance" refers to those segments of dialog that can stand alone, and still have meaning, within the framework of the conversation itself; not *"Oye dónde / queda la / biblioteca allí,"* but *"Oye,¿dónde queda / la biblioteca?"*

"*Allí delante/*" The length of these utterances for imitation is critical, because the auditory memory span is short in early training. It is recommended that utterances of from twelve to fifteen syllables be given in phrases of no longer than five or six syllables, and be built up from the end, in reverse order, so that each phrase forms a meaningful segment and retains the natural intonation pattern. The combination of phrases with pauses (silent spaces) and final complete utterances with pauses gives students repeated practice with each utterance before proceeding to the next. The length of the pause rarely exceeds twice the length of the preceding utterance. The level of difficulty of listening and speaking practice increases, as the skills are developed and maintained throughout the program. Even after students begin reading and writing there is usually a period in which new material is mastered orally before there is access to the written version. This cycle may be completed within a few days only, and its length may vary, depending on the difficulty of the material studied. In any case, continual recycling of the process is necessary throughout the first year.

Now, let us look at a dialog and apply these techniques as one would in the classroom.

[Presentation of the following dialog.]

DIALOG

EXPOSITION: Two students meet on their way to the discotheque (record shop); one of them discovers he forgot his money.

Eduardo: *Oye, ¿dónde queda la discoteca?*

Daniel: *Allí delante. ¿Vas para allá?*

Eduardo: *Sí, tengo que comprar un disco.*

Daniel: *Voy contigo porque también tengo que comprar uno.*

Eduardo: *¡Ay! Se me olvidó el dinero.*

Daniel: *No le hace. Yo tengo cinco dólares.*

Eduardo: *Oye, y dónde queda la zapatería?*

Daniel: *Allí delante. ¿Vas a comprar zapatos?*

Eduardo: *Sí. ¿Vas conmigo? Tengo que comprar unos blancos.*

Daniel: *¡Qué bueno! Yo también tengo que que comprar unos.*

Eduardo: *Bueno. Pues vámonos.*

(The pattern for this was drawn from ALM)

PATTERN DRILLS

After the dialog sentences are mastered, only one structural (grammatical) item at a time is presented for practice, in various kinds of pattern drills for automatic control of the language. In other words, each drill should be built on a single point and elicit only a slight variation by the student. Models for these pattern drills are usually drawn from dialog sentences. At all times, a student should know what is being drilled, the type of change to be made and how to make it. , either by clear, concise instructions or by an obvious pattern, but this does not mean that a grammatical discussion precedes the drill! Instructions should be given one at a time, not all at once! For taped drills, two voices are better: one for giving directions and stimuli (substitution items, etc.), the other for the responses.

No multiple choice
No fill-ins
No paradigm recitations
No mixed English-Spanish.

The drill language should be as meaningful and natural as possible, and the sentence frames should be as short as is feasible, especially in the more elementary work. May I stress here that these drills are for learning to manipulate structure. Testing structural knowledge comes later, so drill, don't test! As such, the drills should be designed to move fast, with no time allowed to "figure out" the answer. Drills should be completely oral. There should be no reference to written work of any kind. Drill to the point of mastery, to the point of saturation. The basic frame (or frames) and one or two substitutions usually set the pattern. Four more will usually consolidate it, and another four will saturate, provided there has been ample repetition along the way, and that proper drill procedures have been used.

Some recommended types of pattern drills:

The types of drills suggested are illustrative of the many possible kinds of pattern practice. Accept them here as a clue to what can be done. Each teacher can select, adapt, or create effective exercises and drills to illustrate points of structure...and in doing this the teacher will have to consider

1. the maturity and ability of his students
2. their interests
3. the time available for language study
4. and materials at his disposal.

TEACHING SPANISH READING TO THE SPANISH DOMINANT CHILD

Dr. Joseph Michel

After learning to express himself, nothing is more likely to have as great an influence on a child as either learning or not learning to read. Not only does reading convey content in the form of concepts and ideas to the child, it likewise becomes an indispensable instrument in a literate society, both for achieving in school and achieving in society. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that reading is one of the most basic subjects in the curriculum. It is therefore essential that the child learn to read as efficiently as possible.

WHAT IS READING?

Reading is the process by which meaning is extracted from a set of visual symbols. These symbols or characters are based on oral language. Not all oral languages have a written system. As a matter of fact, it has been estimated that of the some 3,500 languages, over two-thirds do not have a written form.

Reading means extracting meaning from written symbols; learning to read from the viewpoint of the learner is his ability to "break the code" and extract meaning from the graphemes.

Eleanor Thonis says:

> The process of reading, though very complex, consists of two major actions. The first is the decoding of the written system, which is the act of making associations between the printed symbols and the oral ones; the second is the act of attaching meaning to the oral symbols as decoded. Reading in any language involves certain proficiencies and specific skills.[1]

The child then has to develop the ability to see the written symbols and to extract the meaning not only of individual words but of entire sentences.

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[1] Eleanor Wall Thonis, *Teaching Reading to Non-English Speakers*, N.Y., The Macmillan Co, 1970, p.3.

Reading, according to how it is done, is of two kinds. The first is silent reading, when no overt verbalization takes place, and the second is oral reading when the words and sentences are pronounced aloud. Both kinds of reading are important to the child and both involve particular skills.

Though reading is based on written language, language and reading should not be confused. Thus, learning the meaning of a word is learning language, not learning to read. However, the meaning thus acquired is used in reading. Also, learning to pronounce a word correctly is language learning, though here again the correct pronunciation of a word can also be a part of reading. This distinction is not a distinction without a difference. As a matter of fact, it is very pertinent to teaching reading. The teacher who continually insists on the correct pronunciation of words or who continually interrupts to extract meaning is not teaching reading but, rather, language, and by so doing is interrupting the reading process which the student is striving to master.

Since reading is based on the primacy of oral language, mastery of the reading process is required in as many codes as there are languages. Thus, one learns to read in Spanish, French, German, Russian, etc. That which changes is the code or the system of the language. That remaining the same is the basic visual and neurological process the reader goes through in extracting meaning. Some joint conventions on which reading is based change according to language. The eye movements are the same whether the child is reading German, French or Spanish. The proceeding from left to right and from top to bottom also remains the same in Western languages. This of course would not hold true in Arabic where the reader goes from right to left and top to bottom. In Chinese the conventions call for reading from top to bottom in columns but progressing from right to left.

LEARNING TO READ IN SPANISH

The language which one first learns is a very important factor in learning to read, more so than the distinctions between the *b* and the *v*, between the *y* and *ll*, and between the *r* and *rr*. These, however, are minor difficulties which a simple explanation or an insistance on the part of the teacher will help correct.

Hence, it is safe to say that given Spanish as a written language system it is easier for the child to learn to read in Spanish than it is to learn to read in English.

Moreover, since the child we are considering is Spanish dominant, teaching him to read in his mother tongue is easier than teaching him to read in English which he doesn't know as well and in which the written system is more complicated. The continued use of the dictionary for pronunciation and accentuation is necessary in English throughout life, even for academicians, while such is not the case in Spanish.

READING IN ENGLISH

Once the child has learned to read in Spanish, we ask ourselves what it is that he has achieved. He has mastered the process of reading; that is to say he is able to extract meaning from the written system of Spanish symbols. He has developed the muscular and neurological skills required to do this. He has learned that in reading Spanish you read from left to right, from top to bottom. He is able to recognize the symbols that are used to depict certain sounds or certain ideas. This is why Thonis is able to say: "He really does not have to read a second time."[3] What then is the problem that faces the Spanish dominant child who has to learn to read in English? The answer lies partly in the explanation given above. The child can begin to learn to read English as soon as he has acquired a reasonable command of English. In some cases this may happen in kindergarten, in others at the first grade level and in others only at the second grade level. This will vary according to the individual language ability of the child and also according to the preparation he has received at home. Again, Thonis says: "It is not that they have to learn to read over again. It is rather that they now have to make new sound symbol associations to learn new structural patterns would at first appear. Richard Hodges in his book, *Language and Learning to Read* makes the following statement:

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[3] Thonis, Op. cit., p. 108.

> In addition to the evidence suggesting that reading acquisition may be different from and more difficult than oral language learning, there is also evidence to suggest that English orthography presents more problems in learning to read than does the orthography of other languages. In Europe, reading disability appears to be greatest among children with English as their native tongue; second, among those speaking German, and least among native speakers of Romance Languages. Japanese children show less than one percent occurrence of reading disability as opposed to approximately ten or more percent in the United States.[2]

This observation is borne out by the author's experience while teaching in Mexico. Children by the fifth grade read with complete fluency. That is, they are able to go through the process of reading without major difficulties. In many cases they are able to read material of a content difficulty far beyond their intellectual development. Though they could go through the process, of course, they did not understand the meaning. This leads to the conclusion that the mechanics of learning to read are easier in Spanish than in English. This is so because what Thonis calls the "fit" of language, which is the correspondence between the sound system and the written system of the language, is much closer in Spanish than in English. Again, this is borne out by the fact that in Latin America, as well as in Spain, spelling is not a subject in the curriculum. The child learns how to spell "naturally" and phonetically without endless hours of memorization and concentration. He can transcribe language from its oral form into its correct and acceptable written form. This, of course, does not mean that the Spanish speaking child does not have trouble with some graphemic distinctions. For example, the c, the z and the s are a source of endless difficulty. So are and to gather new meanings as needed when equivalence in meanings is not possible between the languages."[4]

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[2] Richard E. Hodges and E. Hugh Rudorf (Editors), *Language and Learning to Read*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1972, p. 132.

As the child learns English, he will "realize" that the r in English is not the same as the r in Spanish and that the written equivalents are also different. He "learns" this, though of course he would not be able to formulate the appropriate linguistic rules.

The child must also realize, and probably does so quickly and without too much "teaching," that he may be reading in one system at a given moment and in another system at another. It is like being aware that he is speaking in Spanish or speaking in English. This is a subconscious awareness but an important one. This was brought to the mind of the author when driving down the street. A sign which said "beat osu" was read as if it were in the Spanish system, and only when it was read in English was it possible to make any sense out of it. It read "Beat O.S.U." (Oklahoma State University).

Besides learning the inconsistencies of the English vowel system, the child must learn the value of the English consonants and consonant blends. The structural and semantic patterns will be different in English. The reader must become accustomed to their occurrence. He must likewise learn the print conventions of English; for example, that it's indicates possession or a contraction. He will probably miss the inverted question mark and exclamation point at the beginning of a sentence to indicate what the intonation should be. Finally, he will have to learn that intonations in the two languages are different. Moreover, there are few conventions in the written system of either language to transcribe intonation. That is why Hildreth says: "Build oral language ahead of and along with reading lessons if children are to learn to read well. . . . Considerable attention has been given recently to listening as a neglected aspect of oral language comprehension. Listening with acute understanding carries over to reading with understanding."[5]

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[4] Thonis, Ibid, p. 108.

[5] Gertrude Hildreth, "Linguistic Factors in Early Reading Instruction," *The Reading Teacher*, (December, 1964), Vol. 18, No. 3: p. 176.

How much Spanish and how much English reading the child should be taught and how long this instruction should be continued formally will have to be resolved on the basis of the individual goals of each particular school having a bilingual education program. Suffice it to give the general principle: The greater the language ability the child has in reading in both Spanish and English the better off he will be. The more Spanish and English he knows the better off he will be.

METHODS FOR TEACHING TO READ

Reading is a process which is more learned than taught. The parent as well as the classroom teacher is faced with the problem of facilitating learning to read for the child, and to do it as quickly and as efficiently as possible. Hence, a discussion of methods for the teaching of reading is inescapable.

Spanish reading has been taught traditionally through phonics.[6] The child learns the letters, learns the syllables, learns words; then is able to break the words into syllables and into letters; and finally he puts the whole together and learns to read phrases and sentences. The onomatopoeia method is really no more than a device for teaching the sounds of individual letters. The procedure which I have just described for the teaching of reading in Spanish has been considered successful in Mexico and Spain. It is how reading is currently taught there with a degree of success that educators in all Spanish speaking countries have been satisfied with.

Such is not the case in English, which we have already seen. It presents many more problems in learning to read than Spanish. Here the controversy of methods has ranged and raged: from the phonetic method to the look-say method to the linguistic approaches; with linguists, reading specialists, psychologists, foreign language specialists and child language learning specialists all doing verbal battle. Hence, to suggest a particular method would be rash indeed. If I may be allowed, however, I would like to make the following suggestion. It is obvious that the problems of learning to read in English are quite different from those encountered by the student learning to read in Spanish. Hence, different methodologies and different and varied techniques are called for. The difficulties change from language to language, but also from child to child. Hence, the method or technique that would solve one child's problem might not meet the needs of another. What I am suggesting is a clinical approach to begin with. The teacher should analyze the child's difficulty in Spanish if he is reading Spanish, determine its cause, and try to provide a solution. The same would be applicable in English. The teacher working with these children would, of course, need to know both English and Spanish in order to be able to solve language-caused difficulties that the child meets when he is bilingual. After the clinical study of the difficulties the answer to methodology lies in eclectic usage. This answer is not really a "cop-out" and can only be the result of years of experience in the teaching of reading both in English and Spanish. The doctor listens to symptoms, diagnoses, and finally applies a remedy. So, too, the teacher of reading both in Spanish and English should examine the difficulty the child is having, analyze it and provide a remedy.

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[6] For a discussion of an investigation into reading methodology in Mexico and its results read Charles H. Hubert, Jr., "Initial Readings in Spanish for Bilinguals."

THE CHILD

The teacher teaches to read a given language using a determined methodology and preselected materials. What is most often forgotten is that the teacher teaches reading to the child. The importance of this was brought home to me about five years ago when visiting a school program for migrant children. A reading class was in progress and the teacher, with kind insistence, was trying to get a six year old child to read. Obviously, something was the matter. The child's eyes were glazed; his attention wandered. The teacher finally, mercifully, called on another student to read. I was intrigued by the unresponsiveness of the child and took the trouble to inquire further. He had had neither breakfast that morning, nor supper the previous night. His last meal, in fact, had been the free school lunch of the previous day. With the child in that famished condition, it then seemed perfectly ridiculous to ask him to worry about such a secondary thing as learning to read. My point is that the child is a very basic consideration in the reading process.

It is perhaps in this area that the greatest developments will take place in reading in the next decade. The reasons are two: First, the great interest in Early Childhood Education around the country, and, second, the work of Glenn Doman who wrote a book called "How to Teach Your Baby to Read." Doman's thesis, if I may be allowed to phrase it in my own words, is that we have withheld reading from the child for too long. Just as the child's language ability is greatest in his earlier years, so he has an interest and an ability for reading that can be developed much earlier than has been done up to now. Doman even sets forth a technique for helping the parent initiate reading with the two year old child. This perhaps sounds exaggerated; it really is not. What has been done in current practice is to forget the child and his language development from birth to age five or six when he then entered school. All his previous experience and language ability were disregarded and formal school instruction began without, as it were, a foundation. This disregard of those early years is an obvious waste. For the bilingual child it is doubly so and early childhood is an area where much can and should be done. Schools should institute a program perhaps in conjunction with the parental involvement part of their bilingual program in order to supply knowhow and materials for parents who, in turn, can expose the child to books, magazines and printed materials as early as possible.

Doman's book, of course, is directed to the parent. His field is that of physical therapy. He is not a language specialist or a reading specialist. His book, perhaps because of this, has received a less than lukewarm reception. However, thinking persons are beginning to be concerned with those early years. One of these is Ragnhild Soderbergh of Sweden who followed Doman's procedures for teaching a child to read and arrived at the following conclusion: "I have shown how the child, as it learns more and more words, gradually breaks down these words into smaller units; first morphemes then graphemes. At last, the child arrives at an understanding of the correspondence between sound (phoneme) and letter (grapheme) and is able to read any new word through analysis and synthesis. In my experiment, this stage is reached after 14 months of reading. That is, when the child is three and one-half years old."[7] Soderbergh concludes, "An important thing is that the children studied in the research work mentioned by Jeanne Chall are school children who start learning to read at the age of five and a half to seven. With Lenneberg, Chomsky, and others in mind, we may suggest that a child two to three years old, the age of extraordinary linguistic capacity, might profit more from a method which enables him to find out the system all by himself."[8] To those interested in Early Childhood, I would suggest a thorough reading of Soderbergh.

The second researcher is Christian who in an article entitled "Development of Skills in a Minority Language Before Age Three: A Case Study" closely agrees with the findings of Soderbergh after also having followed in general the procedures recommended by Doman. His case study is based on his observation of two of his children, Rachel and a brother, Aurelio.

From all the preceding, it would appear on the surface that we have been guilty of two cardinal sins in the past: Insistence on teaching English reading to the Spanish dominant bilingual while trying to make him forget his Spanish; and blanking out any sort of reading instruction for the child until he was formally exposed to reading in school.

Since we are discussing the child, a word needs to be said about his language. We have described the child whom we are discussing as a Spanish dominant bilingual. Further clarification is needed. It probably means that his mother tongue is Spanish and that he will know a certain amount of Enlgish. Further examination of this statement reveals that his Spanish probably is of two types. Some words will be dialectal, others will be standard. The same can be said of his English. Hence, his language competence is best described by saying that he speaks

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[7] Ragnhild Soderbergh, *Two Studies in the Early Acquisition of Swedish as a First Language*, Paper presented at the Conference on Child Languages, Chicago, Illinois, November, 1971, p. 1.

[8] Soderbergh, p. 32.

Spanish and English and the respective dialects of the two languages with which he is in contact. When reading materials are presented to the child, the language which he will encounter will be standard, for the simple reason that materials in the dialect are practically non-existent. It appears to me that the important thing is that the child not be "put down" because of his language and that when it comes to reading the emphasis be on helping him decipher the written language rather than on "correct" versus "incorrect" language or on the respective values of language and dialect.

It is important that the language used in early texts be one which is as closely as possible within the experiential realm of the child. Thus, to a child from a rural area the sentence "The subway clattered through the tunnel" would be meaningless. By the same token, for the urban dweller, "The sandstorm killed the crops" is purely vicarious.

In discussing the child, we are faced with a necessity of saying a few words regarding the role of the family in reading. A child from a family where the father and mother read, where books and printed matter are readily available, will learn to read more quickly, and be at ease with books. If the mother and father also interest themselves in reading stories to the children, point out sounds and words, and have the child look at pictures, the child will be motivated to read. The existence of siblings in the family enriches the child's oral language and also increases his opportunity to come in contact with the printed word via the books brought home by his older brothers and sisters. It is important to stress the role of the family in the very early years in the modeling of language, the telling of stories and the initiation to the printed page and to reading. A few years ago, a language recording project of the five year old bilingual in Texas was carried out by the Foreign Language Education Center at the University of Texas. One of the interesting sidelines was the discovery that many of the children did not know the fairy tales in English or Spanish. An acquaintance with the fairy tales plus a subsequent identification of the story in a book would be a powerful incentive to learn to read.

SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

School and society attitudes and customs naturally affect both the language and reading of the child. Manuel H. Guerra in "Why Juanito Doesn't Read" and Rosen and Ortego in "Language and Reading Instruction of Spanish-speaking Children in the Southwest" addressed themselves to these problems. The attitude toward the minority language in the home and in the school, the curriculum in the school, society's orientation of schools for the majority, etc., certainly affect reading. For persons interested in pursuing this further, I would suggest the above mentioned articles.

Serafina Krear in her paper "Development of Prereading Skills in a Second Language or Dialect" pinpoints the assessment that has to be made: A socio-linguistic perspective for teaching reading in bilingual programs begins with an assessment of the bilingual reality of the school community and the community wishes for attempting to maintain or change that reality through the bilingual program."[9]

THE MATERIALS TO BE USED

It is probably still justifiable to shed the tears of Jeremiah when it comes to the question of materials for teaching reading to the bilingual. However, the situation is improving as companies vie for the market and as research grants become available for developing these materials. It is certainly elementary to say that they should have the usual physical quality of attractiveness, clearness and unbiased ethnic representations. The content should not be simply of the kind that says: *Pedro corre. Corre Pedro. María corre. Corre María.* Reading material should include stories of very high level interest. It is only this that will make the children want to learn to read. It probably should abound with stories of dragons and elves, *Caperucita Roja, La Cenicienta* and *Los Tres Osos*. The mind of this child should be challenged and his fantasy excited.

A great diversity of materials should be available representing different methodologies, different levels of interest and different levels of difficulty. Experience charts have not been mentioned, but they are certainly an excellent and appropriate instrument in beginning reading instruction for the child.

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[9] Krear, p. 1.

AN ISSUE

For years, the literature in reading insisted on the teaching of learning to read in English and blanked out all previous language experience. Now that learning to read in the mother tongue before learning to read in the second language is being stressed, the question is often raised, "Does instruction in reading Spanish affect the ability to read in English?" Maurice Kaufman in an experiment conducted in New York City came to the following conclusions: "1. There was some evidence of positive transfer of learning from instruction in reading Spanish to ability in English at School B. There was no reliable evidence of interference at either school. 2. Greater reading ability in Spanish resulted from direct instruction and in reading Spanish than from unplanned transfer from English alone."[10]

That learning to read in the mother tongue increases the child's command of his mother tongue and has a positive transfer to the reading of English, that the good reader in Spanish is also a good reader of English is information that has to be continually conveyed to parents, educators, school boards and the community in general. Witness the following quote: "Unfortunately, the same teachers (the teachers of the poor) seem to lack the sophistication to understand why the new programs in bilingual education and non-standard English are accelerating the rate of reading failure in their pupils."[11] This quotation is taken from an article "What Will It Be? Reading or Machismo and Soul?" by Edward O. Vail and published in *Clearing House*, October, 1970. The author talks about accountability, militants, the poor, bilingual education non-standard dialects, ethnic background, but never really relates the diverse elements. He fails to understand the basic premise of bilingual education. However, the significant thing is his negative attitude toward learning to read in the mother tongue and his ascribing to the previous failure of the bilingual child to learn reading to the present programs in bilingual education -- programs which are just beginning to be developed.

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[10] Kaufman, Maurice, p. 527.

[11] Vail, p. 93.

CONCLUSIONS

At this point some tentative conclusions are in order. 1) Encourage parents to begin teaching their children to read as early as possible. 2) Reading should be taught first in the mother tongue of the child, the language the child knows most. Once the "process" has been mastered, reading instruction in the second language can be started provided there is also a previous oral knowledge of the second language. 3) Always isolate the difficulties the child is having. Analyze them, and use a variety of methods in solving them. 4) As great a variety as possible of printed materials, books, cards, magazines, etc., should be available in the classroom. Bilingual programs through the parental involvement specialist should try to make them available to parents also. 5) Keep the interest of the child in reading as high as possible. 6) Provide content that will challenge the mind of the child and stir his fantasy. 7) Good readers will be good readers in both language systems -- Spanish and English. If not, the problem is language. 8) Encourage as much individual reading as possible whether it be in Spanish or in English.

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BILINGUAL LITERACY SKILLS:
SPANISH AND ENGLISH ROLL MATERIALS

A. R. Ramírez

If we have learned anything about human motivation since our ancestors first started scratching on the walls of caves it is

1. That we are more interested in our own experiences and desires than in anyone else's.

2. That we remember what we want to remember much better than what someone else has chosen for us to remember, and

3. That we are more eager to try challenging tasks after we've had a series of successes than after a string of failures.

So what do we do with this distillate of wisdom?

Most of us have been conditioned to ignore it. We go to school for 15 to 20 years--memorizing, regurgitating and recycling over and over and over-until we're convinced that scholastic achievement has to be a triumph over pain. Then we return to the public schools and inflict similar punishment on a new generation:

1. We know that everyone is more interested in his own experiences--yet we introduce him to reading through the innate adventures of strange siblings,

2. We know that we remember best what we want to remember--yet we assign him ten spelling words from page 32, and

3. We do not seem to know how to make the reading task easier so that the child will begin with successes instead of failures.

With that background in mind, let's trace the educational progress of typical non-English-speaking "chicanitos" in South Texas during the critical three or four years, the first years in school.

He and she probably begin school at age five. During that year in kindergarten there will be instruction in oral English. There may be attempts to teach the alphabet, because the research tells us that children who know the alphabet have fewer reading difficulties. In some kindergartens, part or all of the instruction will be in Spanish.

When the child enters first grade the reading instruction begins in earnest. We must get him ready for second grade in nine months. There are many words to learn--"look," "come," "for," "mother," and so on. A child who has never in his life said, "Mother, look at Spot," is expected to breathe life into those words. Mexicanos don't ever use the word "mother"--except on the cushions they send "*mamacita*" from overseas.

The struggle to read continues all that year and the next, and into the third grade. By then, the child's oral language development has been neglected and abandoned. There are no materials, the teacher doesn't know what to do. We have to get them ready for the next grade.

Now here's the tragedy--the game plan for reading has been written by native English speakers for native English speakers. The authors have written their books for the biggest market--the native English speakers. And the assumption is that the child's oral language competency far exceeds what he is expected to read in the first three grades. It is further assumed that the basics of English reading will be taught in those first three grades and the fourth, fifth and sixth can be dedicated to expanding his use of language by applying the reading skills taught in the primary grades.

That may be very good strategy for the English speakers, but what happens to the child who must learn to speak the language while he is learning to read it? For we cannot seriously contend that one or two years of oral English instruction is adequate.

Well, what happens to the majority of the non-English speakers is that the multiple tasks of learning to produce new sounds in new sequences to form new words organized in new patterns and spelled in many new and seemingly inconsistent ways is just too much to take at one time.

The result is a pattern of failures--early too early. And, as the pressures increase year after year, the frustrations mount until the only relief is to stay out of the classroom.

This phenomenon has been documented sufficiently to no longer require elaboration and besides we're not here to parade corpses of horses that were beaten to death at least a decade ago. Let's get on with some solutions.

What I am about to describe as a suggested solution is no longer a theoretical proposal, as it was three years ago when it was funded under Title VII. It also is not presented as "the" cure because there are some children in our classes who need even more specialized instruction. But, for the majority, the double problem of language and literacy in a second language is being resolved.

In September 1969, 48 children enrolled in the three migrant kindergarten classes at the Lamar School in Edinburg. They were assigned randomly, 15 or 20 to a teacher. One of the classes was chosen to participate in the experiment which consisted of a thirty-minute class in Spanish reading taught by an experienced kingergarten teacher from Mexico City.

My purpose here is to elaborate on the attitudes and procedures that were changed rather than on the materials used, although the sixteen workbooks in ROLL--the Region One Literacy Lessons--were planned to complement the change in emphasis.

The principal rule is: the teacher in the language arts instruction must change from a corrective agent to a receptive, non-judgmental mentor. This means that the child's speech is accepted without question when he expresses himself freely; it means that refinements in pronunciation and grammar are left for drill sessions; it means that his spelling is not a factor when he expresses himself in writing; it means that now the teacher is mediating, rather than taking sides, and it has always been on the side of the "correct and proper."

Kindergarten "Sharing Time"

The teacher puts this rule into practice immediately by instituting an activity called "sharing time." Every morning the entire class spends a few minutes relating what is on their minds. In kindergarten their thoughts are expressed in Spanish, so the teacher writes them in Spanish. Eventually, the children will begin to recognize the words and phrases that occur most often. But the greatest value of this activity is that the children have a daily opportunity to express themselves.

Later in the day they will be perfecting skills in sound letter correspondences, in reading and spelling syllables and words, and in writing, perhaps. But it is in the "sharing time" session that it all becomes unity and where the ultimate operations are performed--one: the transcription of common daily speech, and two: the reading of the transcriptions.

The rule about the teacher being non-corrective is applied primarily in regard to the children's vocal expression but it is also in force in relation to artistic, non-verbal, expression--as expressed with paints, clay, music and dance.

The child is encouraged to be venturesome. Bright, fresh tempera paints in jars under a large clean sheet of paper tacked to a splattered easel is an invitation no child will resist for long. Glue and glitter, ribbons and macaroni elbows, egg cartons and tar paper--all can be converted into works of art by small children who have been freed.

I cannot emphasize the first rule too much--the child must be encouraged to express himself freely.

By the time the bilingual kindergarten child enters first grade he has received about 80 hours of formal oral English instruction, 160 hours of informal reinforcement of that instruction and 80 hours of Spanish reading instruction.

He speaks English well enough to begin learning how it is written.

He reads short words and sentences in Spanish which contain the 20 or so letters he has learned.

He has learned the position in the alphabet of every letter he has learned.

He can identify initial and final sounds of words.

He can read and spell the 12 consonant clusters or blends of Spanish.

He knows two digraphs--"elle" and "che."

He knows that two and sometimes three different letters can have the same sound (b and v, ll and y, "c" and "k", "g" and "j", c, s, z).

He also may know that one letter can have more than one sound (g, u, x, c, y).

But, more important than any of these skills and concepts is the feeling he has about himself. He can read. And this is so important as he begins to learn how English is written. He's in for a shock, but we will prepare him for it. He must continue his success pattern. So we don't destroy his illusions about the stability of vowel values. And we don't pounce on him when he misses.

We also provide him with an old friend--the alphabet tray. All the old familiar letters are there. If he hasn't learned all the Spanish sounds we continue that instruction, though not daily because we want the daily practice to be on English spelling.

The classes in oral English continue all year, as does the emphasis on nonverbal expression, arts and crafts. And we add cooking experiences--popcorn, cookies, cakes, doughnuts, even tamales in some classes.

In the first grade we also begin a course in social education in which the individual learns, through role-playing, what his relationship is to others who are members of his two groups, his family and his class. The first graders also role-play their way through an individual's life cycle, from the cradle to the grave.

These activities reinforce the first rule: whatever you are, whatever you bring from home, however you express yourself, is great. The children stage elaborate Mexican weddings, complete with *padrinos*, *lazos* and polkas. Instead of being ashamed of their customs, and by extension, their entire heritage, they bring them to school and enjoy them. No more hiding "*tacos de chorizo*" and it's about time. "*Menudo*" is as good as any of Campbell's soups and why don't we teach all children that no single color of skin, language food or life style is inherently better than another?

These children know and feel that they are O.K. because the school says they are, and if the school says they are the rest of society must support it. When the conflict comes, and I wish it could be avoided, I'll bet on the kids to come out unscathed while the narrow-minded worry themselves into an early defeat.

First Grade "Sharing Time"

The practice of "sharing time" continues in the first grade, with most of the utterances expressed in English. But again, Spanish is accepted if that is how the child wants to express his thoughts. Since the children are likely to make many errors in English the teacher may hesitate to write exactly what they said. Yet the primary rule still applies--the teacher accepts whatever the child offers. To change his expression is to reject it so it is not to be changed.

Early in the first grade the children begin the dictation of stories, usually to accompany some art work they have produced. The teacher or the aide takes down this story exactly as dictated and it is posted on the classroom wall regardless of its correctness. Children are proud of their art and of their language, and invariably lead the visitor to their exhibit. Eventually, they will write their thoughts in their own writing. Here is one written by a first grade girl:

> Onec there was a meler had a datter. One day the meler want to the castl the meler was taking som corn to the castl there he had not met the king befor he sed I have a magek geft for you sed the meler a magik gift! Yes ser I do have a magek geft the meler sed she can spin stau into goad then bering her tomarow mornnin I want her by

> then. The nex day the meler took his
> dotter to the castl but she did not won
> it to go to the castl to see the king the
> kings' sun got her freum her hand and took
> her to th towa. Then she stottet to weap.
> Then an add little man poped out and said,
> "hy are you crying."

Earlier, she had written one in Spanish about a little donkey.

> *El burrito que usamos para hugar un huego*
> *yo le yame florecita. A mime gusta el*
> *hiego que hugamos. A mi me gusta el burrito.*
> *Que ati te gusto el huego. Si ami*
> *me gusto el huego.*
> *Rolando le puso la colita en el burro.*
> *I tamien que te gusto el burrito e.*
> *Sime guso el burrito.*

She wrote both of these without help, so they're full of spelling errors, we don't care if she writes

> meler for miller
> castl for castle
> befor for before
> sed for said
> magek for magic
> geft for gift
> dotter for daughter
> towa for tower

What's m-a-g-e-k about it is that last year, when she entered kindergarten, she didn't even speak English. Now she writes in either Spanish or English--quite an accomplishment for a little girl who was just seven in December.

They write about field trips, television programs, cooking experiences, science lessons, films and filmstrips they have seen. They write thank-you notes such as these to a student teacher who took them to visit her university.

> Dear Mrss Garza you are sow totfl uf me.
> Il tel my fothre to take me to the panumarykin
> younuversure sou I can show hen
> heryoulev. I likt your hom and I likt you
> kichen and I likt you frinz and yor filtrip
> to.

Dear Miss Garza
I love you so much that I wish that you didn't have to go, becas I love you. That you have ben nice to me. I think that your the best girl in the wolrd becas you have ben nice to me love

They even write specifications for the kind of student teacher they want. For some reason they were objecting to the mini-skirts worn by the student teachers. Their teacher, Mrs. Corona, asked them to specify what they preferred. It seems that not everybody wanted longer skirts. These are some of their thoughts:

Specification for student teacher

I wud like a stud teshor that is a gud stud teshor and for hor hu likes the shedan and has a go-go bust and I like the one hu has passut. and I like the teshor hu is a gud teshor and hu wors to be a teshor--and I like one lik Mrs. ruzi. and one like Mrs. Corona. and I wot hor to sip englich and spanich--I wol liked a boy.

I will like one that is nise and cine to us. And to be very sart. and to be is same as Miss Tames. And I want her to wer long derss and go-go buss. And I want her to spek englick and in spanich.

These selections reflect the atmosphere of openness and freedom that is necessary for children to express themselves. They love to talk and to write because they're proud of their work.

Their spelling errors are numerous, but only a few words are undecipherable. And these workbooks provide them with the practice they need in the major spelling patterns of English. We can trace the improvement in spelling as they complete each new workbook. A child who spells sailor "saalor" will learn how to spell it correctly in Book 6.

By the end of the course called English ROLL he will find out how many variations there are in the way vowel sounds are written. He will not learn them all in the first grade, of course, but he will recognize the scope of the task.

Earlier I referred to an experimental group that is now in the second grade. These children have completed the two-year oral language course, the two-year bilingual reading course, and are completing the second year of social education, which consists of role-playing the relationships between families and between settlements of families.

Of the group of 48 children who began in kindergarten in September 1969, 40 are still in the school district in six different schools. Of the 15 children who were taught Spanish reading by the teacher from Mexico City, nine have been in the experimental classes for the three years and six have had two years in the program. So far this spring we have given one test on creative writing to 13 in the experimental group and 16 in the control.

We showed a five-minute film without narration or dialogue to these children and then asked them to write whatever they wished concerning the film. An analysis of the results showed a marked contrast between the production of children who have been given many opportunities to express themselves and those who have had only the traditional curriculum.

MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS AND THE CHICANO COMMUNITY

Dr. Julián Samora

It is a truism to say that this nation is a nation of immigrants. The role that the Chicano has played in U.S. immigration history is a unique one and one that is little understood.

The masses of immigrants to this country have come here for particular reasons and more often than not because of either social, political, religious or economic conditions in their own country, which impelled them to leave. Thus most immigrants come with a desire to better their conditions, to stay in this country and to become citizens. For most immigrants, leaving their country has meant a long trip (with the exception of Cubans and Puerto Ricans) and a physical separation by a body of water. Returning to the home country even once, much less with frequency, has been prohibitive. It has been difficult for them to maintain strong ties with the mother country and the process of becoming socially and culturally American has been enhanced.

The history of the Chicano in the U.S. has been quite different from any of the other groups.

In the first place he was here, in what is now the U.S., living under the flag of Spain, long before there was a U.S. (1598-1823). When the colonists of New Spain revolted against the mother country this region and its citizens came under the flag of Mexico (1823-1949). When the U.S. declared war on Mexico and subsequently conquered it, the Chicanos in the Southwest became U.S. citizens, by virtue of an unjust war, not by any conscious effort on their part. The American Indian acquired U.S. citizenship in a similar manner.

Although the Spanish did acquire most of the Indians' land in this Region, their method of colonization was quite different from that of the Northern Europeans and by incorporating many of the Indians into their own society, they added certain cultural and biological characteristics to the present day Chicano population.

It is important to note that after the Chicanos became American citizens (1849) their numerical strength was estimated at 100,000. It is also important to note that between 1850 and 1921, the border between Mexico and the U.S. was an open one and people of both nations went from one country to another in either direction without much difficulty. The statistics on legal and illegal Mexican immigration for this period are woefully inadequate.

The U.S. has always had a consistent demand for cheap labor. In its early years this demand was supplied through slavery and the early immigration from Europe. The labor pool from Southern Europe was supplemented by labor from Asia, in particular China and Japan. Chinese immigration was curtailed through the Exclusion Acts of the 1880s. Japanese labor was curtailed through the Gentlemen's Agreement at the turn of the Century. Immigration from Southern Europe decreased drastically beginning with the quota system enacted in the immigration acts of 1921.

Between 1850 and 1900 both the legal and illegal immigration from Mexico was small as shown from the available statistics. The Chicano population in this country did not increase much from this source. The hostilities and tensions between Anglos and Mexicans (since Mexico had lost more than half of her territory to the U.S.), the supply of labor from Europe and Asia, and the conditions of peonage in Mexico are all factors associated with the low immigration.

Between 1900 and 1910, Mexican immigration increased considerably (approximately 48,000 legal immigrants were recorded. Almost 12,000 illegals were deported.)

In the next period, 1910-1920, a number of factors created an increasing demand for cheap labor from Mexico: 1) labor from Asia was effectively curtailed; 2) the growth of industry, agriculture, mining and railroads; and 3) the entrance of the U.S. into World War I. In Mexico the Revolution and its aftermath during this decade compelled many Mexicans to emigrate to the U.S. There were well over 200,00 such immigrants during this period and approximately 28,000 illegals were deported.

The Act of February 26, 1885 (sometimes referred to as the alien contract labor law) specifically prohibited the importation of alien labor under contract or agreement. The Department Order of 1918 was the first successful attempt by the U.S. agriculturalists and industrialists to get governmental approval to import Mexican labor during the War. Thus, 73,000 Mexican Nationals were brought in under contract during this period. Subsequently such labor has been brought in to the U.S. up to the present time. Moreover, the laws relating to the head tax and literacy requirements were also waived for Mexican laborers.

The decade of the 1920s saw a dramatic increase in legal immigration from Mexico, approximately 500,000. The number of illegals asked to leave the U.S. was also high, 164,000. This was a period of great prosperity in the U.S. which ended abruptly with the great depression at the end of the decade. The Border Patrol was established in 1924, thus ending the open border and placing greater restrictions and inconvenience for entry into the U.S. The immigration laws of the period placed national quotas on all countries except those of the Western Hemisphere. With immigration from other countries well controlled and with a continuing demand for cheap labor in the U.S., Mexico became the chief source for this labor. Besides legal and illegal immigration, it was during this period that other labor categories were legitimized; namely, temporary contract labor and commuters.

In the period of the 1930s, a tremendous change occurred in Mexican immigration history. Because of the depression and the general economic conditions, legal immigration from Mexico dropped from the 500,000 of the previous decade to approximately 27,000. The number of illegals apprehended during this period increased to over 210,000. But more importantly, most communities started to systematically repatriate Mexican Nationals and their families, many of whom, having been born in this country, were U.S. citizens, entitled to the privileges and protection of the law. Many communities decided that it was far cheaper to send them back to Mexico than it was to support them on the welfare rolls. This was a period of great hardship for thousands of Chicanos. In the first four years of the 1930s, well over 300,000 persons were repatriated.

In the decade of the 1940s Mexican legal immigration began slowly (1,914 in 1940) and increased gradually. During the ten-year period over 50,000 immigrants had entered the U.S. The depression years were over and the U.S. was beginning a period of prosperity which was enhanced by its entry into World War II. Again we can see the beginning of a great demand for cheap labor. Since so many U.S. males were going either into the armed services or the war industries a labor shortage was said to exist for the harvesting of crops. In 1942 a bilateral agreement was entered into by the U.S. and Mexico permitting the importation of temporary contract labor during the war emergency. The agreement contained many contractural provisions relating to health, housing, wages, transportation, food and civil rights for the protection of the workers. Students of the period seem to agree that the provisions were violated many times by the employers.

Between 1942-1946 some 200,000 Mexican Nationals (Braceros) were brought to the U.S. under the agreement. The war ended in 1945 but the program continued, reaching a peak number of importees in 1957 (450,422). One can ask the question that if a labor shortage existed during the short war-emergency period why is it that the Bracero progam lasted twenty-two years involving several million men if it wasn't because of the demand for cheap labor? During the 1940s the number of illegal Mexican aliens increased tremendously. Thus the 1940s produced over 50,000 legal immigrants, over 600,000 Braceros and over 800,000 illegals who were apprehended.

The same trend continued in the 1950s: 293,000 legal immigrants; over 3 million Braceros, and over 3.4 million illegals were apprehended.

The decade of the 1960s brought the end of the Bracero program in December of 1964. Yet, during this decade legal Mexican immigration numbered over 400,000. Braceros numbered 1.5 million and over 770,000 illegals were apprehended.

Analysis and conclusion

The movement of people from Mexico into the U.S. is related to a number of conditions in both countries.

Mexico for years has had one of the highest population growth rates. Despite great advances and rapid economic development Mexico has not been able to provide sufficient employment, housing, educational facilities, etc. commensurate with the growth of the population. The internal shift of the population in Mexico is of interest. The majority of those persons leaving the rural areas of Mexico for the cities in search of better opportunities have as their destination two distinct urban areas: Mexico City and cities on the northern border such as Tijuana, Mexicali, Ciudad Juarez, Nuevo Laredo and Matamoros. Thus both the Federal District and the cities of the northern border have had fantastic population increases since 1940. Many of the poor who have moved to the border live in extreme poverty and one hope of employment is across the border into the U.S. Thus the northern border has acted as a strong magnet drawing thousands of persons from the interior.

On the U.S. side of the border there usually exists a great demand for cheap labor and we have argued that since the turn of the century Mexico has been the chief source of this labor.

Through administrative procedures the U.S. has always managed to assure itself of an adequate supply of labor from this source whenever it was needed. The Bracero program and the commuter situation are cases in point.

The flow of labor into the U.S. is related to the economic conditions in the U.S. as well as in Mexico.

The literature on this subject makes it amply clear that Mexicans have been desired as laborers and preferably on a temporary basis, rather than as residents and citizens.

The consequences to the Chicano community have been many and need elaboration.

Much of the labor from Mexico that has been attracted to this country has largely been unskilled and uneducated: a labor that has little opportunity to command good wages and working conditions; a labor that can be managed and exploited; a labor that is here temporarily and that can be returned if need be.

The effect of this, particularly along the border, is that it places Mexican Nationals in competition with Chicanos for the same jobs. This condition, then, has an effect on wages by lowering them. It also creates unemployment and it has an adverse effect on labor's attempts to organize for collective bargaining. Those who profit most from this state of affairs are the employers.

Other consequences are the displacement of the local labor. If they will not work for low wages they join the unemployment ranks. If they remain in the area they must get on welfare. If they seek employment elsewhere, and many do, their most likely prospect for jobs is seasonal farm work. For some years now, the majority of the workers in the agricultural migrant stream have been Chicanos.

The Chicanos used to be a rural based population but in the last twenty years it has become an urban population. One can also detect the development of Chicano enclaves in Washington, Minnesota, Ohio, Illinois and many other states. Some of these communities outside of the Southwest have a history going back to 1915. The more recent increase of the Chicano population in the midwest and the Great Lakes area has been a result of the dropping off of the migrant agriculture stream.

This paper ignores the major institutions in this country and how adequately they work or do not work with the Chicano community. We have reference to institutions such as the schools, the welfare system, the courts, the police, the health-related agencies, local, state and Federal government, and the church. Without trying to make an assessment of these institutions and referring only to the population movements and their consequences to which we have addressed ourselves in this paper, is it any wonder that Chicanos suffer from some very serious problems which can be summarized as follows: low wages, low status jobs, poor and segregated housing, low educational achievement, poor health, high unemployment, broken families, high delinquency rates and the usual problems associated with discrimination?

The results of all this continue to keep the Chicano community in a state of economic and political powerlessness.

Population Increase of Mexican Border Municipios

	Years			
Municipio	1940	1960	1967	Percentage of Change
Tijuana	21,977	165,690	347,501	1,481%
Mexicali	44,399	281,362	540,300	1,117%
Juarez	55,024	276,995	501,416	811%
Nuevo Laredo	31,502	96,043	140,818	347%
TOTAL Mexican Border Municipios	976,693	2,363,728	2,709,136	

Source: Unpublished figures U.S. Department of Labor.

SOME BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE IMPLICATIONS FOR DEVELOPING LITERACY THROUGH FAMILY AND SOCIAL INFLUENCES

Dr. Joe L. Frost

The process of literacy (language and reading, for purposes of this paper) begins at birth with the mother usually serving as the most important teacher in the life of the child. In the mid-sixties, Benjamin Bloom[1] pointed to infancy and early childhood as the "critical years" for intellectual development. By age four, he concluded, as much as fifty percent of the child's intelligence has developed, and the rate of development thereafter begins to diminish. Not so widely quoted and known are the related findings from Bloom's analysis of eight major longitudinal studies showing that personality development, physical development, and achievement also take place most rapidly during infancy and early childhood.

> By an average age of about two, it seems evident that at least one-third of the variance at adolescence on intellectual interest, dependency, and aggression is predictable. By about five, as much as one-half of the variance at adolescence is predictable for these characteristics (p. 175).

Rapid physical development during the early years is obvious to all observers. In regard to achievement Bloom found that about fifty percent of general achievement at age eighteen had been reached by age nine (grade three).

These findings gain further importance with Bloom's conclusion that the effect of environment are most marked during the period of most rapid normal development, that is, during infancy and early childhood. Thus, culture, or the ways of living of human beings is assigned a central place in the development of the child. During the period from conception through the primary grades two major cultural forces assume the greatest responsibility for the development of the child--the family and the school.

Prior to and immediately upon conception, genetics is a central force in the determination of the unborn child's future. At the moment of conception genetics, for all practical educational purposes, loses its significance. Educators do not currently exercise power over the inheritance of the child. They are environmentalists, nurturers, or acculturators by default, for the child has chosen his parents, and his genetic structure is established. Educators, then, are free to direct their undivided attention to the construction of an affective and intellectual environment for enhancing the inherited potentiality of the child. Efforts to fix the blame or the credit for the child development upon the child's choice of parents, either from an intellectual or an ethnic point of view, is a senseless exercise in the family or school context.

The Family as Acculturator and Teacher

The ways of living, that is, the culture of the family, begins to affect the child even before he is born. The mother may be poorly nourished because of unavailability of food or because of unintelligent distary habits. It is the result, not the reason, that harbors harm for the unborn child. Scientists may yet trace the reading deficiencies of many school age children to the improper diets of their pregnant mothers. Similarly, unavailability or failure to choose proper medical care during pregnancy may lead to a variety of physiological damages to the child.

The critical cultural variable, socio-economic status, thus becomes critical upon conception, for access to medical, legal, and educational resources is closely linked to income. Rodger Hurley[2] cites dozens of studies supporting a causal relationship between poverty and mental retardation and shows that "...fetal mortality, prematurity and its most serious consequences, infant mortality, all vary inversely with socio-economic status (p. 57)."

Independent international studies have demonstrated that health and nutrition are closely related to learning.[3] Malnutrition is positively correlated with poverty, a condition common among minority groups of America because of societal discrimination. The preliminary findings of the Texas team of the National Nutrition Survey[4] show that certain nutritional deficiency diseases among Texans "are in the same magnitude as had been reported for the Montana Indians in 1961 and among rural communities in the six Central American countries in 1965 through 1967.[3]

Turning from such factors to an example of more specific family influences on child development, the work of Jerome Kagan and his associates[5] has shown that the competencies of the new-born infant--seeing, hearing, smelling, turning, sucking, crying, coughing, vomiting, chewing, reacting--are accompanied as early as twelve weeks of age by thinking about what he sees. Kagan's Harvard-based experiments with infants from low-, middle-, and upper-class families resulted in distinctive differences in performance between lower- and middle-class children. Using rate of heartbeat as the criterion (decelerations greater that six or seven beats per minute are most often associated with an attentive posture) the mother's face is a more distinctive stimulus for the middle-class child than for the lower-class child. The investigators believe that the former group of mothers are more likely to engage their children in frequent, distinctive, face-to-face contact.

The most dramatic differences between lower-and middle-class children of preschool or school age involve language skills, a conclusion supporting a host of previous studies (see review of studies by Carden[6]). Kagan believes that this difference (favoring middle-class children) is due not so much to deprivation of parental vocalization as it is due to deprivation of distinctive vocalization.

Despite the compelling evidence of language deficiency of low-class children, William Labov[7] believes that the concept of "verbal deprivation" of lower-class children is a myth. He contends that:

> The concept of verbal deprivation has no basis in social reality: in fact, Negro children in the urban ghettoes receive a great deal of verbal stimulation, hear more well-formed sentences than middle-class children, and participate fully in a highly verbal culture; they have the same basic vocabulary, possess the same capacity for conceptual learning, and use the same logic as anyone else who

learns to speak and understand English.

At least three major strands of study and thought are appropriate to placing Labov's position in proper perspective: (1) studies of the effects of environmental conditions existing within various societies of the world; (2) studies of the usage of language within families; and (3) the views of those most affected by the implications of research.

In regard to the effects of environment conditions within societies, Greenfield and Bruner[8] agree with Labov that it may be quite correct to contend that no human language can be shown to be more sophisticated than any other, but that people differ from each other in extracting the powerful tools for organizing thought from their language. Their work with schooled and unschooled Wolofs has useful implications for the present issue. Is it correct, as Labov contends, that ghetto children "use the same logic as anyone else who learns to speak and understand English"?

Greenfield and Bruner note that "no matter how rich the vocabulary, it is of limited use as an instrument of thought if it is not organized into a hierarchy that can be activated."

> ...Some environments push a certain form of cognitive growth better, earlier, and longer than others...Intellectual nurturing that fully develops language as a tool of thought requires years and complex training.

These conclusions from studies with the Wolofs cannot, obviously, be directly transferred to conditions of the ghetto dweller and other poverty groups. Nonetheless, assuming (tenuously) that the major poverty groups engage in a less technological and less schooled society than the typical American, the possibilities for longterm effect on cognitive growth are clearly sobering.

> Less technical societies do not produce so much symbolic embedding nor so many ways of looking and thinking. Whether one wishes to judge these differences on some universal human scale as favoring

> industrial man is a matter of one's values. But, however one judges, let it be clear that a decision not to intervene in the intellectual development of those who live in less technically developed societies cannot be based on the careless claim that it makes little difference (p. 79).

In regard to the usage of language within families, Bruner[9] supports the conclusions of Kagan and others that conditions of family life associated with socio-economic status affect the development of language as a tool of thought.

> Again, the culture of poverty and the conditions of life that it creates, as well as the expectations it generates in parents and children, has the effect of leading some to use the instrument of language analytically and reflectively, while others are not so affected. The result of a failure to so use language is that it makes it difficult for the child to take advantage of the usual forms of thought and discourse employed in school settings. In effect, where the child, by background, has been kept from developing a typical middle-class analytic style, he is slowly but surely excluded from schooling, and thereby excluded from access to the powerful tools of the technology and of the mainstream culture. He is systematically made ineligible for jobs endowing him with either prestige or specialized skills...Probably, we cannot change the plight of the poor without changing the society that has permitted such poverty to exist during a time of affluence (p. 104).

Hunt[10] also raises questions about the validity of Labov's views that the serious student should consider. He does not believe that the questions raised by Labov can be answered merely by examining the syntactical structure of bodies of verbal conversation.

> ...Before we settle for asking each nursery school teacher to learn the

> dialect of each of her children, let us get far better evidence concerning this issue than the investigators from linguistics have supplied us. We have much to learn about the order in which these abilities come and the kinds of experiences upon which the development of each successive ability depends before we can be maximally effective in early education.

The educator should also take into consideration the views of the audience toward which education is directed. Recent press releases, for example, report that the N.A.A.C.P. is opposed to teach "black English to Negores." In response to the Ford Foundation grant for this purpose, the N.A.A.C.P. described the project as a "cruel hoax" which could harm generations of Negroes. It pooh-poohed the idea that language differences, already prevalent among numerous segments of society, should be encouraged.

> It is colorful to hear someone speak in a strong accent complete with geographical colloqialisms. Emphasizing the differences to the point of promoting them hardly produces ease of communication.

The most compelling conclusions arising from studies of the effects of poverty tend to be negative in nature, emphasizing deficiencies rather than strengths. The awareness of deficiencies is an insufficient and commonly damaging base for teaching when used as the major criterion for educational planning and prescription. Self-fulfilling prophesies[11] appear to be more than rhetoric. The uncontrolled diet of deficiency determination by teachers influences negatively the achievement of their students. Consequently, diagnosis, a necessary strategy for effective teaching, must strike a balance between assets and liabilities or strengths and weaknesses. In sum,

> Those who write about reading are saying that we must search for new directions in reading methodology and research; that the typical Method A vs. Method B research is wasteful in terms of time, money, and talent. Tax payers spent $1,000,000 on the U.S.O.E. First

> Grade Reading Studies to learn that there is no best method for teaching reading to all children and that the teacher is the most important factor. Indictments have evidence to justify the assertion that the published findings of recent educational research (since 1916) have provided the basis of most of the modern reforms in reading instructions."[12] "...We are sore put to name even a few trustworthy generalizations or research based guides to educational and non-cumulative."[14] Chall's[15] analysis of studies of beginning reading, apparently one of the more carefully designed analyses, resulted in several specific conclusions regarding the teaching of reading, all based on studies which Chall herself (p. 88) refers to as "shockingly inconclusive."[16] (my italics).

Gordon's[17] conclusion from extensive analysis of compensatory education programa also rejects the notion of a "best approach."

> The search for the best or the generic treatment is clearly a futile search. Problems of human development and learning are so complex and conditions of life so varied that the chance of finding a curriculum which is universally superior is quite modest.

Setting aside the illusions of erecting a universally applicable program based on methodology research and turning to evidence from the behavioral sciences, the writer is drawn to the relevance of: (1) extracting instructional implications from learning theory, and (2) matching conceptual level characteristics with educational conditions.

Extracting Instructional Implications from Learning Theory

The body of learning theories that are probably most relevant to educators may be categorized normative-maturational, behavioral-environmental, cognitive transactional, and humanistic psychology.

The normative-maturational view, drawing heavily from the developmental schedules of Arnold Gesell[18] stresses chronological age--developmental stage relationships drawn from studies of middle-class children, using averages or normative statistics for scale construction. This view tends to place considerable emphasis upon biologically- or genetically based maturation. Educational interpretations and mininterpretations of this point of view lend support to grade-level standards, ability grouping, letter grades, grade-age expectations, and a host of additional unfortunate practices. The developmental schedules of Gesell chart the growth of a mythical child, and the predeterministic view of development has given way to a more dynamic view that development is plastic and malleable by conditions of nurture.

The behavioral-environmental view drawing from the stimulus-response-reinforcement theory of B.F. Skinner[19], and exemplified in the cumulative curriculum model of Robert Gagne and the behavioral analysis approach of Donald Baer, views the child as a passive, receptive organism. The child is essentially a creature of his environment, primarily responsive to cues or stimuli to initiate behavior and reinforcement to ensure its repetition. Reinforced behavior is repeated, unreinforced behavior is extinguished. This view sets the base for systems approaches, behavioral objectives, hierarchies in learning and various reinforcement strategies--concrete and social.

The congitive transactional view is drawn from the developmental psychology of Jean Piaget[20]. Piaget holds that all children develop through a series of developmental stages characterized by identifiable classes of learning tasks; that the sequence of development is invariant; but that the rate and timing of development is highly variant--different for every individual. Further, Piaget proposes that development cannot be forced (though it obviously can be retarded) by teaching. Consequently, teaching methodology would be geared to present developmental levels of children (diagnosis, presumably) and the pedagogical emphasis would be upon the broadening of mental structures rather than their vertical acceleration. The principal method, operations upon objects by the child, arises from the view that mental schema become increasingly complex through the child's inborn striving for equilibrium--a dynamic process characterized by the twin processes of assimilation and accommodation or matching of mental structure with environmental contingencies.

Finally, humanistic psychology, whose best known advocate was Abraham Maslow[21], stresses the whole child, inner drives, and the affective dimensions of man. The "open school" and the "free school" typify this theory in practice--either implicitly or explicitly. Children are assisted in their development toward "self-fulfillment" by flexible guidance and an informal learning environment built around centers of interest, multiple age grouping, and attention to real-life problems through subject integration.

I will not attempt in the brief space alloted to trace the implications for literacy development of each theory, rather, I choose to emphasize from learning theory considerations, as I stressed earlier from curriculum methodology research, the futility of reliance upon one particular strand of thought. The myth that one strand of philosophical, psychological, or educational theory is sufficient in itself to account for the complex developmental needs of all children has, throughout the history of American education, led to unfortunate consequences.

In the estimation of the writer, the "normative-maturational" view of human development, alone among the four theories described, has little to offer for educational practices. The implications of this theory (in deference to Gesell, the mininterpretation) have led to irreparable harm to children in school. However, in regard to the remaining theories, the dispassionate studies of Skinner, though viewing the child as animal, have produced remarkable innovations in behavioral modification. The child-based experiments of Piaget made immeasurable contributions to developmental theory and practice. Maslow's studies of self-actualizing people focused our attention to the affective dimension of human development and stimulated the development of the flexible "open" and "free schools."

Principal proponents of these views, giants in their fields, set the direction for our energies.

So many people insist on being either pro-Freudian or anti-Freudian, proscientific

> or antiscientific, etc. In my opinion all such loyalty positions are silly. Our job is to integrate these various truths into the whole truth, which should be our only loyalty (Maslow in Goble)[22].

John Dewey[23], perhaps America's greatest educational psychologist-philosopher, also rejected an either-or view in regard to the "ideal" school:

> Thus sects arise: school of opinion. Each selects that set of conditions that appeals to it; and then erects them into a complete and independent truth; instead of treating them as a factor in a problem, needing adjustment.

Matching Educational Environments with Learner Characteristics

The issue of permissive versus structured or intensive versus informal instruction or one reading program versus another reading program can be evaluated only in relation to the development characteristics of the child toward whom instruction is directed. Drawing from the Conceptual Systems Theory developed by Harvey, Hunt, and Schroder[24], the following table summarizes the training conditions that are likely to be appropriate for certain conceptual level characteristics.

Stage	Conceptual Level Characteristics	Ideal Training Conditions
A	Impulsive, poorly socialized, egocentric, inattentive.	Accepting but firm; clearly organized with a minimum of alternatives.
B	Compliant, dependent on authority, concerned with rules.	Encouraging some independence within normative structure.
C	Independent, questioning, self-assertive.	Allowing high autonomy with numerous normative pressure.

The development of the child is presumably enhanced by matching conceptual level characteristics with certain training conditions. As the child grows from impulsiveness and inattentiveness toward independence and self-assertiveness the conditions of training become increasingly autonomous in nature, allowing increasing alternatives in an atmosphere of decreasing structure.

The concept of the same school structure, learning style, or instructional sequence for all has no reality in behavioral science data. In human behavior and biology diversity is the rule; to propose informality and permissiveness for all is no more defensible than teaching all children the same matter simply because they are all eight years old and placed in a third grade classroom. The view that a highly structured, specialized environment is best for all is equally unfortunate. Many children are so severely disturbed that carefully guided procedures are required to put them back on a "normal" track; considerable research[25] shows that "structured" learning schemes are often helpful for children from suppressive ghetto environments; children from ultra-permissive homes often arrive at school desperately needing adult guidance and controls. As developmental complexity increases, humans cope with data on increasingly abstract terms, experiencing concretely gives way to experiencing vicariously, needs for concrete motivation are modified by build-up of intrinsic motivation, and elaborate coding systems supplement firsthand observation. Thus, informal means for coping with reality are reinforced with formal coping strategies through the growth process. To limit students to exclusively informal instructional patterns or exclusively formal instructional patterns seems inconsistent with the process.

Summary and Implications

The related processes of learning language and reading begin at birth and are deeply affected by conditions of nurture which are mediated by adults, primarily the mother, in the young child's world. Certain factors, notably socioeconomic class-related variables deeply affect the preparedness of the child to accommodate to the regimen of the typical primary school leading to learning discontinuity for many children. Thus, it is essential that the school program for developing literacy build strong programs of parent involvement so that schools may come to understand patterns of home life and make program adaptations designed to preserve and enhance the strengths of the home and community culture to gain the support of the home for facilitating the mutual goals of the home and the school.

In building language programs for young children the school should take into account the probable effects of negative expectations of teachers on the achievement of low socioeconomic group and minority group children and develop programs based upon positive assumptions. The recent work of linguists showing "ghetto" language to be as complex structurally as "middle-class" language lends further support to the need for programs which build from existing linguistic forms.

Data from the behavioral sciences, including education, have shown repeatedly the futility of reliance upon, or the search for, a generic approach to learning theory, or curriculum practice. The theories of learning briefly described herein tell us what happened after treatment, that is, they are descriptive. The process of extracting curriculum theory from learning theory is tenuous, for instructional theory is prescriptive, telling us what we should do to effect learning and development, and the link between the two bodies of knowledge and practice is by no means absolute. The study of learning theories suggests a number of unifying principles essential for the construction of instructional plans; the identification of experiences which would cause the individual to want to learn (motivation), the description of a reinforcement system, the specification of ways in which knowledge and processes to be learned should be structured for most efficient learning, and the development of learning sequences.

The basic concepts of motivation theory may be categorized as external and internal systems. The external system places reliance upon the notion of response to external stimulation, reward and punishment. The typical reinforcement employed in classrooms to ensure continuity of desired behavior are concrete (tokens, candy, gold, stars, etc.) and social (praise, physical contact, etc). The internal system draws support from a number of eminent psychologists (Piaget, Hunt, Berlyne, Festinger). Homeostasis is the term commonly employed to describe the view which holds that the learner is capable of generating or organizing sufficient internal energy so as to behave in ways not causally linked to immediate external reinforcement. The learner, in other words, appears to have an inborn drive or need to know or to learn and, under conditions of stimulation appropriate to his present mental complexity, learning will take place through the exploratory behavior of the individual.

There appears to be some individuals who are unable, perhaps from inappropriate opportunities and support for exploratory tendencies, to make "normal" progress under conditions designed for "learning for learning's sake." This may occur in the "free" or "open" classroom characterized by minimal structure, minimal teacher direction, self-selection of learning materials, and much independent activity. Youngsters who are not yet "hung up on learning" appear to profit from the systematic use of concrete and social (external) reinforcement. External systems must be individualized, specific to identified behavior to be promoted, and conditions should be systematically altered, as behavior allows, to promote increasing reliance upon conditions of learning more conducive to the development of intrinsic or internal motivation.

Turning to the curriculum components, structure and sequence, the evidence from learning theory suggests that certain prerequisite abilities are necessary for concept attainment. Since the development of intelligent behavior, in this context the ability to speak and read, is a cumulative process, the educator should be able to subdivide a specific task into its subordinate concepts or units necessary for mastery of a prescribed goal. The cognitive structure desired for mastery may be identified as terminal behavior and all ultimate conceptual goal behaviors are supported by subordinate concepts. Based on these assumptions, the teaching of language and reading may proceed in a controlled and planned manner of successive, cumulative mastery of subordinate concepts or skills. For hypothetical purposes or for purposes of developing reading curricula one may identify such major reading skills as power and speed of reading as "program goals." The elemental components of phonics or comprehension, e.g., the identification of short vowel sounds, then, would be the behavioral change the educator seeks to effect through direct or indirect instruction. Successful mastery of each behavioral goal would in turn contribute to the attainment of the ultimate or "terminal" program goal.

Although the most obvious instructional process to accommodate cumulative learning would be a vertical, highly structured, step-by-step sequence, research on learning hierarchies[26] shows that individuals employ their own personal styles in achieving a given learning task. The use of specific instructional sequences, guided by specific objectives (behavioral) is not dependent upon placing the learner in a bite-size linear instructional sequence. The method of analysis of the task tells us nothing about the learner. A given learner may be able to skip subordinate tasks; another may approach the hierarchy of tasks with a set of skills from a different domain of knowledge which is not directly represented in the hierarchy but which influences learning the new task; another learner may engage an atypical combination of subordinate skills. Yet, the validity of learning hierarchies is not dependent upon learner style, for in either approach to learning, the simpler behaviors are components of the complex behaviors. The challenge to teachers, then, is to construct a diagnostically-based multi-media, multi-strategy approach to the teaching of language and reading. The introduction of controlled novelty (teaching) thus becomes multi-phased and individualized.

Any single approach to teaching oral language--modeling, cueing, experience referenced, verbal bombardment, etc.; or any particular approach to teaching reading--basal, individualized, linguistic, etc. --gets its power from its dynamic teacher-controlled linkage with learner attributes. This linkage becomes the universal or generic variable in instruction, replacing the common reliance on a single approach, method, or curriculum.

Placing groups of children into an instructional sequence with expectations for standard progress is a major error in current language and reading methodology. The instructional sequence established for a child or a group of children in advance of diagnosis is always approximate, a reflection on our present stage of knowledge about learning. And the rate and timing of movement through an instructional sequence differs from child to child. The simplest interpretation of perhaps the commonest error in developing literacy is the expectancy that any given group of children will follow an identical time pattern, or skills sequence, and that they will achieve similar proficiency from identical content. The plea is for individualization, not the rigidity in disguise of the basals nor the fun and frills of certain other misinterpreted approaches, but a scientific, diagnostically-based humanistically-oriented approach to the development of literacy.

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ART BY AND FOR THE BILINGUAL

José Cisneros

Doctor Gómez and ladies and gentlemen of the National Conference on Bilingual Education:

Lack of both academic background and formal technical preparation does not qualify me to address this distinguished gathering of educators; nevertheless, at the insistence of my learned friends Dr. Severo Gómez and Dr. Félix Díaz Almaraz, I dared to accept the invitation. The primary force behind my decision was a desire to contribute to the betterment of our less fortunate bilingual brothers by sharing some of our personal experiences and labors. I beg your indulgence, tolerance and understanding for my poorly constructed message

The theme assigned to me by the organizers of this assembly was "Art and Culture." It is a subject with extensive implications. Art reflects the many cultural facets of our Southwestern bilinguals' past and present; it arms him with a powerful medium of communication; and, at the same time, Art in all of its aspects provides many opportunities for careers.

As a practitioner of Art--if book illustration may be considered as such--I would limit myself as much as possible to my particular field of endeavor, trying to connect visual reconstruction with the study and research concerning historical events in our Southwest.

To appreciate the importance of Art as related to our regional history and culture, we must delve into the past for a retrospective view of the conditions and circumstances in which it evolved and developed, as well as give a brief account of some artists who have made significant contributions.

Nearly four and a half centuries ago, when the first Europeans traversed this land, little did they realize the great impact their visit would have in changing the environment and in altering the native economy, in warping or obliterating governmental structures, customs, beliefs, and cultural levels. These Europeans brought with them not only the blessings of civilization but the beginning of its decline.

They introduced innovations in transportation and facilitated the movement of antagonistic ethnic groups. They brought agricultural improvements and started destruction of the native flora. They increased the production of domestic animals and began the eradication of wild life. In short, civilization arrived to speed the depletion of natural resources. New settlements displaced the aborigines from centuries-old habitats, creating frictions which have lasted to our day. And these visitors came with pre-conceived notions as to what was Art and what was not.

Except for items of gold and silver, which could be reduced to bullion, or items of jade, which were thought to have medicinal value, the first European visitors to the New World found little use for American manufactures, and few regarded them as Art. The loot of Mexico - detailed inventories of which still exist - found little favor in Spain. The works of the Aztec and Inca artists were distributed as curios, chiefly to friends of Charles V and Cortez in Spain, Italy and Austria, largely unappreciated except by an artist here and there such as Benvenuto Cellini. Few items survived; virtually all that we know or have of pre-Columbian Art comes from later archeological work.

Later on, groups from the north and east forced their way into this vast territory, bringing with them a different concept of life, other ideas and beliefs. The commingling of these peoples impressed upon our region peculiar characteristics and idiosyncrasies which set us apart from the rest of the nation. Within this framework and under the influence of the unique atmosphere, Art has evolved and grown in the Southwest as an inseparable element of the culture.

The first manifestations of European Art in this country may be found in the early reports and codices of the Spanish conquistadores and explorers who started the occupation of the new lands. They were punctilious and finicky in keeping records of all their activities with detailed and exacting verbal descriptions from which artists, even today, can render visual resonstruction of the past. The scribes and cartographers would add lively decorations and descriptive sketches of the things they thought significant. Naturally, the buffalo, a strange animal to European eyes, was among the first things to be shown. The 1554 edition of Francisco López de Gómara's *Primera y segunda parte de la historia general de las Indias con todo el descubrimiento y cosas notables que han acaecido desde que se ganaron ata el año de 1551* contained a rendering of the shaggy beast, as did Thevet's description in 1558 and the De Bry *Hispaniae Novae Sive Magnae, Recens et Vera Descripto* of 1595.

Let's look at a verbal rendering of the people: Gómara described the natives of Cíbola:

> *Hazen con todo esso vnas mantillas de pieles de conejos, y liebres, y de venados, que algadon muy poco alcancan; calcan capatos de cuero, y de inuierno vnas como botas hasta las rodillas. Las mugeras van vestidos de Metl hasta en pies, andan cenidas, trencan los cabellos, y rodeanselos ala cabeca por subre las orejas. La tierra es arenosa, y de poco fruto, creo q for pereza dellos, pues donde siembran, lleua mayz, frisoles, calabacas, y frutas, y aun se crian en ella gallipauos, que no se hazen en todos cabos.*

And Antonio de Espejo told of Zuni in his *Expediente y relación del viaje que hizo Antonio de Espejo con catorce soldados y un religioso de la orden de San Francisco, llamedo Fray Augustín Rodríguez; el cual debía de entender en la predicación de aquella gente:*

> *...en esta provincia se visten algunos de los naturales, de mantas de algodón y cueros de las vacas, y de gamuzas aderazadas; e las mantas de algodón las traen puestas al uso mexicano, eceto que debajo de partes vergonzosas traen unos paños de algodón pintados, y algunos dellos traen camisas, y las mugeres traen naguas de algodón y muchas dellas bordadas con hilo de colores, y encima una manta como la traen los indios mexicanos, y atada con un pano de manos como tohalla labrada, y se lo atan por la cintura con sus borlas, y las naguas con que sirven de faldes de camisa a raíz de las carnes, y esto cada una lo trae con la mas ventaja que puede; y*

> *todos, así hombres como mujeres, andan calzados con zapatos y botas, las suelas de cuero de vacas, y lo de encima de cuero de venado aderezado; las mugeres traen el cabello muy peinado y bien puesto y con sus moldes que traen en la cabeza uno de una parte y otro de otra, a donde ponen el cabello con curiosidad sin traer nengún tocado en la cabeza.*

Those who engaged in the conquest of Mexico may have had little heed for the artistic heritage of the peoples they were conquering, but they were highly conscious of the "now" of their lives. They made many written records as well as an abundance of graphic renderings concerning the events in which they were participating. We are fortunate to possess a wealth of such information, scattered in museums, libraries, and archives of different countries, waiting for students to decipher them and bring them to common knowledge.

Considering that the nature of the expedition almost demanded rough adventurers, it is amazing how many men of letters showed up in the enterprise. We will never know how many of their precious documents have been lost through ignorance, carelessness, war or unpredictable circumstances such as deterioration.

We have to look southward to trace the origins of the meager Art brought to and practiced in our Southwestern settlements. A brief account of its development, particularly painting, might help us in our understanding of its influence and significance.

Painting under European concepts was originated in Mexico in the early sixteenth century with the arrival of artists from the Iberian peninsula. The activities of the newly trained native elements reached its first peak under Renaissance influence during the beginning of the seventeenth century with such outstanding artists as the Echaves, four in the family, and the Xuarez family group, José, Luis, Matías and Tomás. Later, during the last decades of the same century and the first part of the eighteenth, the Baroque movement culminated with artists such as Sebastián López de Arteaga, Rodríguez Juárez, brothers Juan and Nicolás, Cristóbal de Villapando and Juan Correa. In the eighteenth century there was a considerable diminishing of artistic quality; however, influenced by contemporary Spanish masters, originality appeared in the works of such as José de Ibarra, Miguel Cabrera, José de Páez, Francisco Antonio Vallejo, and José de Alcíbar.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, principally due to the founding of the Royal Academy of San Carlos in 1784, Neo-Classical Art was introduced into Mexico, officially taught by academicians sent from Spain for the purpose. The Neo-Classic movement was of great importance in Mexico, developing such major figures as Rafael Jimeno y Planes, José Luis Rodríguez Alconedo, Francisco, Eduardo Tres Guerras and the great Manuel Tolsa. With them ends the direct Spanish influence in Mexico and our Southwest.

More than painting, architecture had a most profound influence on the frontier. The Spanish, like the Romans, were great builders. Prominent in each settlement was the church or mission, a lasting mark standing as a symbol of Spanish power in the wilderness that was our land.

In addition to the great painters that New Spain produced, there were others, some lost in anonymity, who left valuable contributions to the iconography of the borderlands. To an illustrator, the set of drawings known as the Vinhuijsen Collection in the New York City Library is of particular value. They were done by an unknown artist in the early eighteenth century, depicting Northern Mexico, Spanish soldiers, and militia men, several on horseback. There is another set of scenes and regional types from early Alta California in the Museo Naval in Madrid, drawn by Juan Cardero, who visited the West Coast with the Malaspina Expedition of 1772. An invaluable collection of watercolors at the Gilcrease Institute in Tulsa was done by José María and Lino Sánchez y Tapia in Texas in 1827. They show different frontier and Indian characters. These are just a few isolated instances of valuable aids to visual reconstruction of our picturesque and colorful past.

The infiltration of English speaking artists into the Southwest has been so great that it would be a difficult task just to name them, to say nothing of discussing the great impact they have had in the movement known today as Western Art.

It has been my privilege to illustrate several books dealing with the history of the Southwest, past and present, some of which are here on display through the courtesy and kindness of my talented friend Al Lowman, bookfinder extraordinary from the Institute of Texan Cultures in San Antonio. Also on display, you may see a set of illustrations done for a forthcoming book by John M. Carroll, "Custer in Texas," along with a few other samples of my labors.

In conclusion, I would like to add that in Art as in many other activities, there are great opportunities for our people if only we could find the way to channel so many wasted energies in a constructive way. I feel that if we complain less and work for improvement harder, if we avoid unjustified protesting and learn more, we would sooner achieve and gain as a group our rightful place in the affairs of the nation. It is mostly through education and self-discipline, with the advantage of bilingual communication, that we can attain our goal. We never learn enough.

Es viejo el que deja de aprender.

ADMINISTRATION, SUPERVISION, IMPLEMENTATION OF A BILINGUAL BICULTURAL CURRICULUM

Carmen Elena Rivera

Frustrated, and at times disillusioned and embittered about the failure of their children to achieve, communities who have been speaking out for decades are now beginning to be heard in increasing numbers.

Educators are concurring with their critics. They are beginning to understand why the curriculum, which presently encompasses the educational offerings for the more privileged middle class child, is unacceptable. They are beginning to accept the fact that critical statements about the curriculum are no longer to be considered undemocratic or outrageous. For it is true that it is neither meaningful nor relevant. Language and cultural differences have not been recognized and when recognized, not respected. This explains its lack of success in lifting the educational sights of the much misunderstood and neglected Hispanic child.

Questions such as the following are now being directed to our educators for accountable responses:

Is it defensible to expect children to struggle to learn in a language they find unfamiliar or inadequate? Not when chapters of failures which are daily being added to our histories of education report fewer successes for the Hispanic than for other minority groups.

Is it conscionable to permit children to grow into adulthood with inferior and inadequate feelings about themselves? Not when we know that the majority culture in many instances feeds on the minority's inadequacies and failures to insure its own survival. That nebulous "self-concept" is no longer an abstraction for us. We can see it, hear it, talk about it and feel it. We can even measure it. The low scores frighten us.

In the light of what we have learned from the above, schools must therefore provide for the Hispanic child a curriculum that will insure his acquiring:

1) the necessary command of skills so that he can use language effectively for communication at all levels;

2) the assistance and encouragement essential to "find himself" within the cultural milieu of his own choice.

Our public schools will thus be honoring their commitment to the public they were historically designed to serve. This public consists of significantly larger numbers of Hispanics, who have heretofore been overlooked. This forgotten minority-which began to make its mark in the sixties will continue to make an impact in the seventies. The introduction of bilingual, bicultural approaches to teaching the non-English speaking in particular, and the urban poor Hispanic and non-Hispanic child in general, is facilitating this process.

It is disappointing that the paucity of funds is frustrating the efforts of many interested and concerned community leaders and committed educators to embark on needed bilingual programs. This will unfortunately continue to be the case until our own local city authorities begin to accept their responsibility to appropriate the monies necessary to run an efficient and effective school system.

Since the millenium is not yet near, and until such time as it is, the state and/or federal government, or both, should perhaps become more judicious in the allocation of its monies. By shifting their priorities, monies may begin to flow into programs designed to "save" our youth for meaningful participation and gainful employment, in a society, where, prognosticators tell us, only the best equipped intellectually and emotionally are slated for survival. The Title VII monies allocation has never been generous. The potential of Title I for financing bilingual programs is an unknown, largely because its role has not been recognized in this area.

The bilingual school curriculum that is the subject of this paper is that of an existing bilingual school which is in its third year of operation in New York City. As is certain to have occured in other sectors of the country, much rhetoric preceded the reality of bilingual education in New York City. Our educational leaders had to readjust their thinking, and begin to dispel their unfounded fears, about the most pedagogically sound approach to teaching - the use of the vernacular. Laws directing and compelling schools to use English only as a medium of instruction had to be repealed, which historic event occurred in New York in 1967.

It was a year later, in 1968, that several of the more courageous members of the bilingual and educational community of District 12, where 211 is situated, forged ahead with plans to implement this novel, innovative approach. P.S. 25, a totally bilingual school located in another but neighboring school district, had already opened its doors. This fact was no doubt instrumental in pressing the leaders of District 12 to reach this major decision.

The acquisition of the C.S. 211 school building preceded the planning and organization of its bilingual, bicultural curriculum to be implemented that coming September of 1969. This was an abandoned building which had long outlived its usefulness as an industrial site. Within the space of close to eight months, this loft was converted into a beautiful and functional school, introducing the most modern features in school construction and design, such as open-wall classrooms, carpeted floors and acoustic ceilings. The term "open-wall classrooms" is self-explanatory. An entire area capable of containing four classrooms was kept "open" with only movable pieces of furniture serving as room dividers. The carpeted floors and acoustic ceilings were introduced to reduce the noise level that was certain to rise in decibels as the population of the "learning areas" was increased in numbers. This type of physical structure has facilitated the introduction of the non-graded type of organization and the utilization of team teaching - two other unique aspects of this very special school - aspects which have played a major role in the evolving of our bilingual bicultural curriculum.

This site selection, incidentally, reflects another changing concept. The overcrowding and over-utilization of school buildings short-changes the education of the minority-group child, for it often leads to part-time instruction. It definitely makes more sense to use abandoned commercial buildings -- bowling alleys, catering centers, warehouses -- which can be converted and refurbished for transformation into schools, particularly when the skyrocketing cost of new construction is making new structures exhorbitant and unavailable.

In addition to obtaining a building so that a two-track bilingual school organization could be structured from the start, those administrative areas of immediate concern to its director had to be identified: the student body which had to come voluntarily, the staff which had to be competent, bilingual if possible, and necessarily committed to this type of organization and program; the location and acquisition of materials which had to complement a curriculum relevant to the needs of the child in terms of language, culture and content.

The initial planning and organization was conducted during a six-month period preceding the formal opening of the school. With the approval of a state urban aid proposal, monies for a much needed staff to work with, and an office to work in, became available. It was in addition possible to gain additional insights on bilingualism by visiting bilingual schools and programs outside of the New York City metropolitan area, such as Chicago, Miami and San Antonio. A teacher-training institute was organized and conducted during the Summer of 1969 for the essential orientation and training of the school's propective teachers and paraprofessionals. Teachers who were unfamiliar with the styles of minority group children needed the opportunity of working with these children, if only in the familiarity and confines of the traditional box-like classrooms in already scheduled District summer school programs. Courses [illegible] accreditation by Lehman College, a neighboring city college, were among the offerings. These specific courses were designed to develop among the propective teachers competencies in the teaching of Reading and the Second Language, two of the most important subjects of its curriculum. In addition, workshops were conducted during which time the rationale for bilingual education was proposed, and the philosophy, history and research of bilingual education discussed. The second language was also taught -- Spanish and English -- so that the monolingual English-speaking teachers particularly would gain or regain confidence to teach children with very specific second language problems.

The elements that were to differentiate the curriculum of this bilingual school -- 211 -- from that of neighboring non-bilingual schools, as well as other existing bilingual schools, began to emerge with the consideration of the following questions: What was our ultimate goal as a bilingual school? Was our school designed to specifically meet the unique language, cultural, and learning needs of its entire student body? Was its ethnic distribution to be given strong consideration in the structuring of its curricular design? The answers to these questions contributed to the unfolding of our curriculum. For example, at the time that we were recruiting and registering our children it appeared that more than 40 percent of our applicants would be non-Hispanic, largely Black American. It had been previously and mutually agreed that no child whose parents expressed an interest in the program would be denied admission to a school that was advertised as a two-track bilingual school. I did not find this to be at all untenable.

As a foreign language teacher of Spanish, I had always wanted to see the wider expansion of the Spanish language program in the elementary schools. Traditionally, as I am certain is true of other school systems throughout the nation, the learning of a foreign language in the early grades is the prerogative of the rich or the intellectually gifted. The schools that offer these enriched offerings have heretofore been located in the more affluent neighborhoods. The recipients are children whose reading scores are considerably above the national norms and whose own background of experiences has offered challenge and stimulation. But, is it not possible for the poor and the non-intellectually gifted to learn a foreign language at an early age? Cannot the study of the foreign language and its culture both stimulate and challenge a child and consequently enhance his learning capabilities? There is confirming evidence of this every day at 211.

The remaining 60% of the children whose parents expressed an interest in the program were Hispanic--largely of Puerto Rican origin or background. These were the children who would be significantly retarded in the mastery of the basic skills in Spanish, and, in addition, as it soon became dramatically evident to all of us, in English as well. Can it not be possible to develop, strengthen and maintain the language arts skills of these children's vernacular so that they gain control and confidence in their home language? Is it not possible for these children to acquire skills, learn concepts and add to their fund of knowledge via their home language, their mother tongue, their vernacular? Can they not learn their second language--English--faster than other urban poor children who attend non-bilingual schools? They do, and we likewise see increasing evidences of this phenomenon.

A viable, functional, meaningful bilingual program therefore evolved as we were able to define what bilingualism meant to us, who our bilingual child was, what were to be the components of our bilingual program of instruction. The fact that the study of the literature, coupled with the examinations of bilingual programs in different sectors of the country, revealed that no standard definitions of bilingualism, the bilingual child and bilingual programs of instruction existed gave us the fortitude to think in terms of developing our own.

By "bilingualism" in our program we meant competency in the use of two languages as vehicles of communication, verbal communication as well as written communication, in consonance with the age, grade and achievement level of the child. The bilingual child in our program was one whose command of Spanish represented the whole continuum of language, that is, ranging from limited to a fluency unusual for his age and grade. Because for some of these children the stronger language appeared to be English they were classified as English Dominant. The Hispanic child who could not function effectively in English for learning purposes, that is, who had not developed decoding skills in English, was classified as Spanish Dominant. He was by and large the new arrival to this country. In some instances, he was the offspring of parents whose command of English was poor for a number of reasons: they may have been living in this country for just a few years; they may not have been exposed to the language because of the linguistic islands where they live and work, or they may have resisted adopting completely the new language because of plans to return to their homeland, Puerto Rico.

The bilingual bicultural person our comprehensive bilingual program is designed to produce is one who can use both languages effectively for communication at a level commensurate with his age, ability and interest, and, in addition, can transfer from one language to the other without losing what we characteristically refer to as "*el hilo del pensamiento*" the thread of thought.

These introductory remarks lead us logically into a description of our comprehensive bilingual program of instruction, which is specifically designed to meet the cultural, language and learning needs of our three major language categories of children: Spanish Dominant, English Doominant and bilingual, distributed throughout the six grades with achievement levels running from readiness to seventh and eighth grades in reading and mathematics, ethnically distributed in the following manner: about 30% Black American, 70% Bilingual and/or monolingual Hispanic (mostly Puerto Rican). For the latter their knowledge and/or command of Spanish is ideally suited to the introduction and/or continuance of the bilingual curriculum for the major portion of the school day. For the former, the early introduction of a second language, Spanish, should contribute to the growth of bilinguals from the monolingual (English) component of our population, a desideratum when we reflect on the monolingual structure of our society -- a reality that does not appear to perturb our educators.

In essence, our bilingual program at 211 is above all, and significantly so, a maintenance program:

1) The vernacular, be it English or Spanish, is respected, maintained, developed and strengthened. It is used to facilitate teaching or all content areas of the curriculum. To put it more explicitly, it is used as a tool for learning.

2) English is introduced and taught as a second language to the Spanish Dominant child. Spanish is likewise introduced and taught as a second language to the English (monolingual) speaking child. Spanish is taught as an enrichment subject to the bilingual child classified as English Dominant. If a child neither reads nor writes Spanish, the focus will be on developing those skills that will give him practice and eventual command of the necessary reading and writing skills.

3) In addition to teaching the language, we also program children for instruction

in the second language. The subject area of the curriculum specifically selected for this purpose was Mathematics, which in 1970 was taught for 15 minutes a day in the second language. The following year it was taught in the second language during two 45-minute periods a week. This year it is taught for approximately five 45-minute periods a week. Concepts are introduced in the child's vernacular with provisions made to conduct the required practice and drill part of the lesson in the second language. This coming school year Science, in addition to Mathematics, will be taught in the second language.

4) The development of knowledge, consequent understanding and respect for the cultural heritage of our two main language and ethnic groups is an additional facet of the program which differentiates our curriculum from that of the average school.

What I have described thus far has been the use of Spanish in the instructional process, as a first and/or second language and as a vehicle for the teaching of content. We have dealt more with the product than with the process. And I realize that in this particular instance we are all interested in how we reach our ultimate objective of developing and adding to the projected bilingual bicultural society we all envision for the future.

There is a term usually appended to that of curriculum -- materials -- that needs to be discussed at this time. Teachers are interested in knowing what they have to teach. They express interest and concern with the how (methodology). But we know that they are even more concerned with the what -- which is materials -- at times not realizing that weakness in approach can vitiate the quality of the materials.

This is the greatest weakness of a bilingual program. The dearth of materials reported a few years ago still exists. The location of materials in Spanish for our three groups of language learners -- Spanish as Second Language (S.S.L.), Spanish for Spanish

Speakers (Bilingual Children)(S.E.) and Spanish for non-English Speakers (Spanish Dominant), became for us a long and arduous task. When, in addition, these materials had to meet the additional rquirements of legibility, attractiveness, price, reading level, language, and, above all, relevancy, the task became almost monumental.

Via local distributors (The Materials Acquisition Project in San Diego, California, has a nation-wide list of them), we have acquired many of our materials in Spanish. One of them is an entire series (in Mathematics); others are selected titles for expanding and enriching the skills, knowledges and conceptual framework of the other subject areas such as Science and Social Studies. Our own American publishers have in the past few years begun to recognize the emerging needs among educators for these materials and are responding to these needs, as evidenced by the following titles.

These are materials that have served to meet the immediate needs of teachers. They should be closely examined because selection for local needs often vary.

For SSL - Spanish as a Second Language -- we have made available for teacher selection and use the following titles:

The Langford and Parnel Se~ies of Alley
  and Bacon (*Yo Se Leer, Venga a Ver*)
The Saavedra Tirsa Series of Ginn & Co.
  (*Como Se Dice, Somos Amigos*)
The Bishop Series of the National Textbook
  Co. (*Hablan Los Niños*).

As with other subject areas, titles are not prescribed for particular levels. Teachers have guides available. Our own school S.S.L. Committee makes suggestions regarding procedures, practices and curricular content in terms of the structure and vocabulary that should be mastered by a child at his own particular level.

For SE -- Spanish Enrichment -- materials must be available to encompass the language and interest levels of children who range in grades from one to six, some of whome are already independent readers in the two languages, and many who command one skill but who may be seriously lacking in the others. The curricular offerings for these children must of necessity vary. Many of the materials are teacher prepared, distributed and shared. A committee of S.E. teachers is charged with the responsibility of coordinating this instructional component in the school.

Several commercially prepared materials have nevertheless been acquired for use in this area:

> The "*Me Gusta Leer*" series of Allyn and Bacon is recommended for use with children who are independent readers in English but who have no reading skills in Spanish.
>
> The Laidlaw Spanish Basal Readers, which provide a *cartilla (Aprendemos a Leer)* and proceed to a grade level 6 -- *Páginas de Ayer Y Hoy* -- is again recommended for children in the English Dominant (bilingual children) classes who are independent readers in English.
>
> There are books printed in Latin America that are widely used: The Anorga Series on *elementos gramaticales* and on *lectura*. Anorga also has an *ortografía funcional*.
>
> For those children who are already in the upper grades, and whose verbal facility in Spanish has been rated as poor, books on suggested conversational dialogues are available. One of these is the Dixon books on "*Conversación en Español.*"
>
> There are several library titles, either translations of American classics or adaptations of Spanish classics whose potential for use with these children was early recognized. Segmar of Buenos Aires has an animal series that is attractive, legible and popular. The Western Press has the "*Libros de Oro del Saber*" which are also extensively used.

The focus on E.S.L. -- English as a Second Language --is on developing and/or strengthening aural-oral skills. After the child is familiar with reading skills in his own language he is introduced to reading in English.

Many of the publishing companies have produced instructional materials in the form of texts, readers, tapes and records:

McGraw-Hill, (Let's Speak English)
Houghton-Mifflin (Introducing English of Lancaster)
American Book Co., (We Learn English)
Ginn & Co. (Core English I and II.)
The Michigan Oral Lessons Series (with structured oral language lessons for the teaching of English and Spanish to the young child)

Teachers are free, in addition to use other titles and aids as resources in their daily preparation.

For the teaching of Reading to Spanish speakers who are classified E.S.L., we use the Series Basica of Laidlaw Brothers which is the reading series used in Puerto Rico. Our problem in this area arises in effecting the extension of individualized reading. What we have done thus far is to prepare our own Reading units with the limited titles we have available to us. To these units we must append exercises that have to be individually prepared, since instructions must be clear and the exercises such that they test particular comprehension skills. It should again be stressed that not until a child can decode in his own language is he introduced to reading in the second language.

In the fields of Mathematics, Social Studies and Science, teachers follow the courses of study and/or curriculum guides issued by our Central Board of Education. Commercial textbook companies study these guides and follow them closely in evolving the kind of printed material teachers look for in developing suggested units with their children.

Books in Mathematics which incorporate all the modern mathematics language and concepts have been published in English with parallel editions in Spanish. One such publisher is Laidlaw Brothers. There is the Fondo Education Interamericano, S.A. Math series which is the Spanish parallel of Addison Wesley's series. All these series follow the Modern Mathematics philosophy and likewise have excellent teacher guides.

To teach Science, we likewise have a parallel series in Schneider Science Books of D.C. Heath & Co. This translation was produced and pilot tested in Puerto Rico by Puerto Rican teachers with Puerto Rican children.

The area of Social Studies presents by far the greatest problem. Parallel translations are not commercially available for the lower grades. Teachers must therefore translate these materials and prepare their own worksheets. Many are quite adept. They have the necessary resourcefulness, ingenuity and imaginiation to introduce concepts and develop the activities necessary and important for developing understanding and appreciation among children. Others are not so endowed and bemoan the dearth of materials in these areas. There is no doubt that teacher requests should whenever possible be honored. However, the paucity of printed materials can at times provide teachers with an excellent opportunity to develop their own resources. They can encourage children to play a major role in their own intellectual development. Sometimes we forget that despite the lack of ability to express themselves in fluent, fluid Spanish, and/or English, children have acquired knowledge, skills and ideas as a result of having explored their own immediate work about them. This is an opportune area, therefore, for teachers to use multi-faceted approaches, such as research and investigation through use of library materials, cooking ethnic foods, making dioramas and exhibits, where an informal approach in second language communication can be effectively expected. The skillful inspiring teachers will elicit from children what they know and will in turn, as the facilitators in the learning process, help them build a system of order out of what may be a disarray of facts and a confusion of ideas.

Reading and research material should be on hand and immediately available on many topics and all levels to meet our children's varying needs. Where the printed material is missing in Spanish, the aid of the staff should be enlisted in developing novel approaches to obtaining this material. The SCDC (Spanish Curricular Development Center), located in Miami Beach, for example, is producing, among other strands, a Social Science strand. Although the kits available are for the first grade, basic concepts are presented in a spiral basis, much as it is in modern Mathematics, with particular emphasis in learning strategies for independent growth and discovery. The activities presented furnish teachers with ideas for the conduct of their own lessons on a level beyond the first grade. (for beginning learners the activities should be followed as suggested, with provision made for the utilization of the great variety of audio-visual and manipulative materials that accompany all their kits).

We hope that as the program continues teachers will acquire the skills necessary to translate, adapt and/or develop their own materials. They are already involved in this aspect. With the possible availability of Title VII monies we expect that this will be an area that will receive our largest share of attention. A great need which likewise exists, is material written in the sociocultural context of the child, which should encompass the Puerto Rican and the Black experience, reflect a poor urban environment and be permeated by an ambient where different styles of communication coexist--two languages in both their standard and non-standard forms.

It is difficult to expound on curriculum and materials, to describe process fully, if all aspects of the school design are not fully recognized and understood. A bilingual bicultural program must respect and reflect the language and learning needs of the children in terms of skills development and conceptual growth, as well as their physical, emotional and social needs: Spanish Dominant, English Dominant, Bilingual, Hispanic, Puerto Rican, Black, Independent, Non-Independent readers, all grades, with achievement on a continuum from readiness to grade six and above at the elementary level.

In view of this diversity and in order to organize for effectiveness and efficiency we began to group children for the purpose of reducing, wherever possible, the existing wide ranges of achievement. Grouping is now a school-wide practice in the areas of Reading, Language, (Spanish as a Second Language, English as a Second Language, Spanish Enrichment) and Mathematics in the Second Language (Spanish and English.)

In addition, all our teachers have become teachers of language. Very few, however, came to our program trained to teach the second language. In order to help teachers develop and strengthen their skills in this area, workshops on a regular basis on school time have been organized. Demonstrations, observations and conferences are scheduled with individual teachers and groups of teachers. We now anticipate using Title VII monies to likewise assist our teachers in strengthening this aspect of their teaching.

The role of the administrator in planning and organizing a bilingual curriculum has been delineated above in terms of his concern for the availability of courses of study, curriculum guides and materials. He plays a major role in developing the skills, competence and confidence of that person who will play a key role in reaching the major objectives of the program -- the teachers. He likewise should play an important, if not a major, role in those organizational aspects described at the outset, since a building is important, teachers must be recruited, selected and licensed, children enrolled and parental involvement enlisted.

There is an additional area of interest and concern not mentioned above. This has to do with how the public views bilingual education and the questions they are likely to ask, to wit: Is this program a procedure for further alienating the ethnic groups of a community? Will the learning of a Second Language (Spanish) retard even more the child's progress in Reading in English? If so, since many of the children of the urban poor are already severe retardates in reading, should they not read more in their vernacular instead of less? If you teach a non-English speaking child in his own language, when is he going to learn English? When is he going to be Americanized, to enter the "mainstream of American Society," to be "melted" in the proverbial pot that never existed? Can the poor urban child (English monolingual) really learn Spanish?

Anyone involved in bilingual education must have the answers to the above questions at his finger tips. Although parents have exercised their option in enrolling their children in this particular bilingual school, my experience has been that in several cases the last consideration in their minds was bilingual education and its assets or debits. This was and is true of the Hispanic as well as the non-Hispanic parent. They must be assured and convinced that they have made a wise educational choice.

For every child positive results are already noticeable at P.S. 211, which attests to the validity of this approach.

The morale of the teachers is higher than that at other schools with which I have been associated.

The upgrading in the total reading performance is highly indicative of the fact that the children are learning.

While most of our children are bussed, there is a minimum of irregular attendance. Our rate of mobility is likewise lower.

School community ties have been strengthened. Attendance at meetings is excellent and parental visits to the school are quite frequent.

It is not a segregated school in terms of its being a Puerto Rican School. The percentage of Puerto Rican children and Black is about 65/35. They are both benefiting greatly.

The Puerto Rican child is learning content and developing skills while at the same time he is learning English. No one is hopelessly attempting to teach him skills and concepts in a language he doesn't understand.

The Black Child profits from group work, team teaching and a second language, the learning of which has always been one of the rewards of being intellectually gifted and, if not "rich," in this school he has the opportunity of increasing his future options in the labor market.

The promise that our program holds for bridging cultural barriers and lifting achievement levels is being realized. The Black child and the Puerto Rican together are learning to recognize and value each other's cultural values since the Puerto Rican heritage and culture and the Afro-American heritage and culture are daily interwoven into the school curriculum.

They will be at the vanguard of the cultural pluralism movement when they reach maturity. This is the hope all of us see as a possibility of fulfillment in a school where its educators are dedicated to fulfilling the goals established for a bilingual bicultural curriculum.

FROM THE INSIDE LOOKING AROUND: A PORTRAIT OF THE MEXICAN AMERICANS OF TEXAS

Dr. Richard G. Santos

I. An American in Search of His Identity

The basic description as to who and what is a "Mexican American" is so simple that many are not able to grasp or appreciate it at first. Nonetheless, the three basic requirements held in common by all people composing the "Mexican American" are:

1. He is a human being
2. He is a citizen of the United States
3. He is a descendant of a family who once lived in a country or a geographic area which was once part of the Spanish Empire.

Everything else composing the "Mexican American" is relative. That which is true and applicable for some is not true or applicable to others. Not realizing this very important aspect of the "Mexican American" has and will continue to hamper any approach to his problems.

Perhaps the best example with which to begin depicting this relativeness is by refering to the various identity tags used by the "Mexican American" and the futility of their vagueness. The standard tags are:

1. Mexican American: Although this is the most common and perhaps even the most acceptable, it is still rejected by some because of its irrelevance. That is, that not all of the people composing the group are descendants of Mexican immigrants. Moreover, if the term is applied because Texas was under Mexican rule for fifteen years (1821-1836), then what kind of Spaniards would they be since Texas was under Spanish rule for 302 years (1519-1821)? Likewise, many of the group are descendants of families who never crossed the border between the United States

and Mexico. Instead, it was the border that crossed them as a result of the Texas Annexation and the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Finally, if "Mexican American" means that Mexicans are not Americans, then one should recall that Mexico is very much a geographic part of North America and that no one country has a copyright or even special privileges on the word "America."

2. Spanish American: It is true that there are some members of the group who do not have any Indian blood and are primarily of "Spanish" stock. However, this percentage is relatively small within the group and chances are that they are not truly of "Spanish" stock but of a European descent such as French, Italian, Jewish, Portuguese or other types which came within the fold of the Spanish Empire. Moreover, if the phrase (Spanish American) is in reference to the language, then one should acknowledge that there are a great number of people composing this group that do not speak Spanish. There is even a smaller number that does not under stand it at all!

3. Latin American: There is no such thing as a "Latin-American." If the phrase is supposed to identify those people who are descendants of a Latin culture (probably meaning the Romantic Linguistic group), then the Italians, French, Portuguese and Rumanians would also have to be considered "Latin-Americans." Since these latter people are never considered such, then the phrase has no validity whatsoever. Finally, if the term is in reference to Latin-America, then the same arguments against "Mexican American" are applicable.

4. Indo-Hispano-Americano: Although this tag seems to refer to the *mestizaje* of the group, it falls short because of the Indian heritage which it proclaims. That is, that all members of the group are of Mayan-Nahuatl (Aztec) descent. This is not true. Due to the Franciscan missionary effort on the frontier of New Spain (Northern Mexico and the U.S. Southwest), a great number of the non-Mayan-Nahuatl Indians were converted to Christianity and declared citizens of the Spanish Empire. Through the years the mission Indians and their descendants have been successfully assimilated into the Spanish-Mexican society. The non-mission Indians (as it will later be shown and documented) have also become a part of the cultural and historical development of the U.S.-Mexico borderland frontier.

5. Regional terms: *Tejano, Paisano, Californiano.* The true value of these terms is the insight which they offer to the regionalism of the people. That is, that these people are the descendants of those families who never crossed the border between the United States and Mexico. These families have been on this land anywhere from four to two hundred years or at least before 1836. These families have been born, raised and buried upon their land regardless of who claimed it. Most of these people usually find themselves at odds with the problems, desires, values and aspirations of their fellow "Mexican Americans".

6. Mid-Twentieth Century Terms: *Aztlán(o), Chicano, La Raza.* Other than being the oldest term of these three, *Chicano* is also the most misunderstood and unpopular. No one truly knows the age or origin of the term, but it first appeared about 1925 in the Lower

Rio Grande Valley. It has been known in San Antonio since at least 1950. The origin of *Chicano* is a matter of argument (this author is acquainted with seven versions, none of which is applicable). However, the important thing to note is that it has always been used to define "us": the Mexican American who is neither a Mexican nor an *Americano*. That is, a *Chicano* is a U.S. born "Mexican American" and neither an immigrant from Mexico nor an "Anglo-American." A recent article published in the journal of the University of Mexico *(Revista de la U.N.A.M.*, Aug., 1969) introduced acceptable variations of the word *Chicano*. Two of these included *Chicanoista* (one who follows or adheres to the *Chicano* movement), and *chicanoismo* (the chicano movement and its philosophy). Even though the term has become acceptable to international scholars, it is still violently rejected by some "Mexican Americans" who consider the phrase to be derogatory.

La Raza is the second oldest term making its public appearance in the early 1960's. It is most probably derived from José Vasconcelos' writings of *La Raza Cósmica* (The Cosmic Race). Vasconcelos was writing about the common and mutual cultural heritage of Latin America as derived from the blending of the Hispanic and Indian heritage. This combination *(mestizaje)* had produced the bronze people of Latin America who represented the best of two cultures. Vasconcelos, incidentally, was also anti-U.S. in some of his writings for he considered the "colossus of the north" to be culturally inferior to the "Cosmic Race of the Bronze Continent." It should be stressed, though, that Vasconcelos was writing of cultural terms and not ethnic groups (other than the actual *mestizaje*). The Mexican Americans, however, took José Vasconcelos literally and mistakenly wished to consider themselves a separate "race" without realizing that the *mestizaje* of the Mexican American is a fourway product of Indian-Spanish-Mexican-United States. It is usually the negation of the Spanish and U.S. contributions that alienates a number of "Mexican Americans" from adhering to *"La Raza."*

Aztlán(o) is definitely a "Brown Power" militant term. This group is obviously the successor of "La Raza Movement". The *Aztlán(o)s* proclaim a return to the mythical "Northern Land of Aztlán" from where the Aztecs supposedly began their journey towards Mexico-Tenochtitlán. Ignoring, if not denying, their Hispanic cultural heritage, the *Aztlán(o)s* procliam a "Bronze Continent" with a history of sufferage at the hands of Anglo exploitation which prompts them to "reclaim the land of their birth ... of our people of the sun ..." This movement has not received strong support in urban Texas nor with the bulk of the "Mexican American" community.

Another of the relative aspects of the "Mexican American" is his physical make-up. First it should be noted though that the Spaniards left an inside caste system which is still followed to a certain extent by the "Mexican American." That is, that the creole is called and considered an *español* (Spaniard born in America). The *mestizo* (European and Indian stock) is the true Mexican.

Finally, there is the Indian. The descendants of the founding families of Texas and the Southwest add a fourth category: the Mexican immigrant. All this is important because of the relativeness of the people. That is, that a "Mexican American" can have blue, green, hazel, or brown eyes, with black, brown, blonde or red hair, and be of light, medium or dark complexion. Four-foot ten or six-foot eight, straight, curly or balding hair, thin, fat or in between, he is still a "Mexican American." There is no physically typical "Mexican American" as there is no one phrase with which they can all agree.

Being a bit more specific, there are at least seven basic groups that compose the "Mexican American" of Texas and the Southwest. They are:

1) Native Creoles. These people are the descendants of colonial Iberian or creole families who have been in the United States since or prior to 1836, and who have no Indian blood.

2) Native Mestizos. These are the descendants of those colonial families who are both of European (mainly Spanish) stock and native (Texas-U.S.) Indians who have also been in the United States since, or prior to, 1836.

3) Native Indians. These are the descendants of the native (Texas-U.S.) Indians who have always been in the United States. /i.e. it would be difficult to ascertain the degree of their *mestizaje* /

4) Mexican Creoles. Generally, these are the first to third generation descendants of the (primarily) creole families who migrated to Texas and the Southwest during or as a result of the 20th Century Mexican *Revolución*.

5) Mexican Mestizos. Although some Mexican mestizos came to the United States during the *Revolución*, the greater number migrated during the Second World War when a shortage of skilled manpower forced the United States to encourage and sponsor the migration of these people.

6) Mexican Indians. This will always be a problematic group for it would be nearly impossible to ascertain whether these people were actually pure-blooded Indians, Indianized

mestizos, or Mexicanized Indians. Nonetheless, beginning with the Mexican *Revolución* and continuing to the Korean Conflict, if not the present, this group has been encouraged to migrate to the United States as *braceros*, green card workers, or illegal entries.

7) Non-North American Hispanos. This is another problematic group because these people never were, nor will ever be, "Mexicans." They are Filipinos, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Central Americans, South Americans and Caribbeans. However, because of their Spanish surnames, and because they usually speak and/or understand Spanish, and because they themselves identify with the "Mexican American Community" they are considered to be "Mexican Americans." Ironically, sometimes even the Iberian-born Spaniards are considered "Mexican-Americans."

The historical development of each of these seven groups is important to know because it sets the background for understanding the cultural heritage and conflicts of the Twentieth Century "Mexican American." Again, they are:

1. Native (Texas) Creoles who are descendants of one of three groups:

   a) descendants of the founding families from the Canary Islands who founded the Town of San Fernando (now San Antonio, Texas). Three hundred families were sent from the Canary Islands in 1730, and only 16 of these families were destined for Texas. The remainder were distributed throughout New Spain and its frontier. However, since the Canary Islanders who did come to Texas had not lived either on the Iberian peninsula or in New Spain their cultural heritage was inherently different from that of their compatriots.

b) other families who migrated to Texas before 1836 were primarily from the provinces of Nuevo León, Tamaulipas and/or Coahuila. It should be noted, however, that most of these families were descendants of the Portuguese Saphardic Jewish colonists of Luis de Carvajal. Again, their cultural heritage differed from that of their compatriots from Spain and New Spain.

c) the other Creole families who were neither of Canary Island nor Saphardic Jewish descent joined forces and intermarried with both groups to make up the still existing founding families.

2. The Native Texas Indians can be divided into two categories:

a) mission Indians who became wards of the Franciscans and who eventually "graduated" from the missions to become full-fledged citizens of the Spanish Empire. With given Spanish names, speaking, reading and writing Spanish, and a rudimentary education and taught skills, they assimilated successfully into the Hispanic society of Texas.

b) the non-mission Indians were apparently conversant in Spanish. It is also known that the citizens and officials often gave the non-mission Indians personal names for identification purposes. However, it is most important to note that on October 12, 1837, the chairman of the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs for the Republic of Texas issued a report which stated:

> "The People called Lipan, Karankawa and Tonkawa your

> committee considers a part of the Mexican Nation and no longer to be considered as a different People from that Nation. They occupy the Western Part of Texas."

3. The native mestizos are composed of two groups:

   a) the descendants of mestizo families of European (primarily Spanish) and native Texas Indian parents who had been in Texas since, or prior to, 1836.

   b) the descendants of mestizo families who migrated to Texas or came as soldiers of the Spanish or Mexican forces before 1836. These original non-Texan mestizos were from northern Mexico, so their cultural heritage was of the frontier, having very little if anything in common with the central Mexico Mayan-Nahuatl mestizos.

The second group composing the "Mexican American" and perhaps the largest, populationwise, is the true Mexican element. These are the first to third generation descendants of families who have migrated to the United States from Mexico after 1900. This group can also be divided into three major categories with various sub-group divisions:

1. Mexican Creoles composed primarily of the *hacendados* and political exiles forced or encouraged to migrate to the United States during the Mexican *Revolución* of the 1910's-1930's. The impact and influence of this group upon the existing "Mexican American" community has been of great value. Highlights of their period include:

   a) Don Francisco I. Madero and his top lieutenants (including the Flores Magaon brothers) who plotted the revolution against Porfirio Díaz from the City of San Antonio.

In fact, Madero wrote his famous *Plan de San Luis* while in residence in San Antonio.

b) By 1917, alone, there were at least 28 high political exiles in the City of San Antonio. That figure included only the *ministros* (national secretaries and cabinet members) from all levels of the national Mexican government and diplomatic corps.

c) The Mexican intelligencia was also in residence in San Antonio. In fact, many people during that period considered San Antonio as the political and intellectual "Capital in Exile of Mexico." No less than 37 different Spanish language newspapers were published in San Antonio between 1900 and 1939. The longest running and best known paper was *La Prensa*. Other outstanding papers included *La Revista Mexicana, Adelante, El Vacilón, El Amigo del Pobre, Boletín Mexicano, La Defensa, El Monitor Democrático* and *México Nuevo*. Moreover, a great number of political as well as cultural books were also published during the same period in San Antonio.

The "Mexican Americans" of Texas and San Antonio owe a great deal to these political and intellectual exiles. They were the ones who were able to assimilate themselves successfully with the established society which until that time excluded the Spanish-speaking community. The exiles taught everyone that a good education, involvement in politics and community affairs, and professional skills would open many doors previously closed.

A sizeable percentage of the exiles never returned to Mexico. A number of them, however, have never renounced their Mexican citizenship. Meanwhile, their children and grandchildren have been born, raised and educated as citizens of the United States. Their allegiance is to the United States and they have become the primary leaders of the "Mexican American Community." They are also among the staunchest of fighters for the U.S. Constitution, the U.S. Bill of Rights, and the American judicial system.

2. Mexican Mestizos were the would-be rising middle class of Mexico during and immediately after the *Revolución* and at the outbreak of the Second World War. Due to the shortage of skilled man-power, a great number of Mexican *mestizos* were encouraged to migrate to the United States. Great numbers of these skilled workers went to the industrial north while others went to Texas and California. Even though they were encouraged to return to Mexico after the war, many never did.

3. The Mexican Indians, as previously stated, is a problematic group definition. One may never know if they were or are truly Indian, Indianized mestizos, or Mexicanized Indians. It is known, however, that this group of immigrants has been from the lower socio-economic-educational level of Mexico. They also fall into two categories:

    a) 1913-1930's; the revolutionary peon. These were the ex-conscripted soldiers who, for fighting under one revolutionary leader or another, eventually found themselves completely lost after their leaders had been defeated. Since they had helped to destroy the *hacendados* and *latifundios* they suddenly found themselves unemployed, unskilled and literally unwanted. Thus, a great number of these peon soldiers migrated to the rural agricultural areas of Texas or to the lower socio-economic urban *barrios*.

    b) 1940's-1960's; *braceros* and *"wetbacks."* The same shortage of manpower in the United States that brought the skilled mestizo also demanded the importation of unskilled rural workers. The demand for this laborer has increased in proportion to the ever decreasing number of rural workers. Most of these people have come to the United States as *braceros* or green-card workers. However, a good percentage has come as illegal entries commonly called "wetbacks." Nonetheless, these people have unfortunately come willing to work at any salary slightly higher than that offered in Mexico. Consequently, they have merely exchanged Mexican *patrones* for Texas *patrones*.

One important aspect of the Mexican immigrant is his development. That is, that the first generation does not usually speak English. His children (second generation) are bound by law to go to school and learn the English language and acquire an education. This particular second generation is thus caught in the struggle of two cultures. The third generation is usually more prone towards the U.S. culture and is directed away from the Hispanic-Mexican culture. The fourth and currently developing generation will be interesting to observe for it will probably seek a balance of the two cultures.

7. The non-North American Hispano. This group has already been described as being of non-North American descent. In passing, it can only be noted that they are bound to the "Mexican American Community" because of their mutual Hispanic heritage, cultural traits and values, and, usually, but not always, because of the Spanish language.

The multi-cultural and bilingual development of the various groups that compose the "Mexican-American" is a relatively unknown and unacknowledged basic cause for the differences which exist within the group. The "Mexican American" will agree on nothing about any specific thing at any time. This includes the apparent if not sometimes violent disagreement on what identity tag is most appropriate.

II. The Historical and Cultural Background

Knowing "who" composes the group called "Mexican American" is merely a third of the necessary knowledge in trying to understand it. The second and most important step in achieving this understanding is in grasping a knowledge of his historical and cultural development.

The geographic area which gave birth to the inherent culture of the "Mexican American" must first be established and defined. The Land can best be described as a literal arch stretching from the Gulf of Mexico (from the Tamaulipecan Huastecas to Texas), to the Pacific Ocean (Jalisco to Upper California). At both extremities of the arch are found sections of evergreen terrain with fertile soil in an agricultural topography. Between the extremities, however, are found sections of arid, semi-desert, mountainous and desert terrain. The Sierra Madres, East and West, practically divide the extremities from the rest of The Land which lies between them.

It was upon this arch of land that a certain type of Indian developed in pre-historic and historic times. The Indians of The Land were culturally and anthropologically distinctly different from their Mayan-Nahuatl neighbors to the south, and from their agricultural Plains Indians neighbors to the north. Both the Indians and The Land were a wedge between these two cultures as living proof that "geography divides, it never unites."

The Indians of The Land did not develop like their neighbors to the south or north but they did borrow a few things from each of them. Caught between two cultures, the inhabitants of The Land became nomadic, low-cultured, and semi-agricultural. There were some who built pueblos near their irrigated formlands but they were the exception and not the rule.

It was to this wedge of land that a certain type of Spaniard came from the 16th to 18th century. The Spanish North American frontiersman did not come to conquer The Land or to steal its riches. Instead, he came to pacify it, to colonize it, and to settle in the bosom of its wilderness. Moreover, the Spaniard did not come to kill the Indian or to steal his land. He came to convert him to Christianity and to make him a citizen of the Spanish Empire.

The Land was the frontier of New Spain and most of the settlers who came to colonize it were not from the Iberian peninsula or even from central or southern New Spain. A great number of the frontiersmen were descendants of or themselves Saphardic Portuguese Jews. Some of them were sincere converts to Christianity; others were secretly practicing crypto-Jews.

Still other frontiersmen, like the 300 families from the Canary Islands and of which only 16 went to Texas, had been selected to colonize the frontier because of their rugged individualism and dependability. Finally, there were a great number of *mestizos* from that region of New Spain known as *La Provincia* (Querétaro, Guadalajara, San Luis Potosí, and Zacatecas) who chose to move unto the frontier.

All these people had one major thing in common. They desired the essence of individualism, freedom and equality promised by the frontier. Perhaps they merely desired a new life with a fresh start away from the tired old world and established society.

Historically, the Spaniards first knew The Land as *Chichimeca* and the *Gran Quivira*. It was a land infested with poisonous animals, of fierce nomadic Indians, and devoid of great materialistic riches, treasures and high Indian civilizations.

The settlement, administration and separatist attitudes of the colonial inhabitants of The Land was always a problem for the Spanish Government. Consequently, by 1778, the Spanish Crown had established quasi-autonomous, self-governing agencies on the frontier. It now became known as the Interior Provinces of New Spain. The Commandancy-General of the Interior Provinces was for all purposes independent of the viceregency of New Spain. All military, political, economic, judicial, and religious matters were handled by frontier agencies on the frontier. However, lipservice was always paid to the viceregency at México Tenochtitlán.

The Interior Provinces and hence The Land, was finally divided in two by the Texas Revolution and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Consequently, The Land can best be described today as being northern

Mexico and the U.S. Southwest. The final political division with its imaginary boundary, however, has not been able to divide the cultural and historical development of The Land and its people.

The fact that the people and the established frontier society considered themselves different from the governments at México Tenochtitlán is verified by the frequent uprisings and independence movements. Among the better known are:

The Pueblo Uprising of New Mexico in the early 1600's
The Sonora-Sinaloa Uprising of the mid-1700's
The Hidalgo Uprising of 1810-1813, and the support it received in Durango, Chihuahua, New Mexico, Nuevo León, Tamaulipas, Texas, and Coahuila
The Federalist Uprisings of the 1830's in Nuevo León, Zacatecas, Tamaulipas, New Mexico, Coahuila and Texas
The Texas Revolution of 1835-1836
The 1849 Declaration of Independence of the Seven States of The Sierra Madre issued at Matamoros, Tamaulipas for the north-northeastern States of Mexico
The 1850 petitions to both governments of the United States and Mexico by residents of both sides of the lower Rio Grande asking for separate political entity or Statehood
The Santiago Vidaurii Movements of the 1840's through the mid-1860's when he last offered to secede the Mexican States of Nuevo León, Coahuila and Tamaulipas to join the Confederate States of America.

Personality-wise, the freedom loving and colorful heroes of Mexican history who have come from the frontier included:

Miguel Ramos Arispe, José Luis Mora, Valentín Gómez Farías (a Jaliciense who identified with the frontier), José María Carvajal (famous Mexican General of the 1850's-1860's who was born in San Antonio, Texas), Ignacio Zaragoza (famous Mexican General and hero of the 5th of

May battle, and who was born in Goliad, Texas), José Urrea (famous federalist General of the 1830's-1840's who was born in Tucson), Francisco I. Madero, Venustiano Carranza, Doroteo Arango (alias Francisco "Pancho" Villa) and many others.

Meanwhile, the non-Hispanic settlers who came to The Land before or after the 1848 division, adopted many of the aspects of the deeply entrenched Hispanic culture which they encountered. For instance, the land and water rights laws of Texas and most Southwestern States have their origin in *Las Siete Partidas* which were written in Spain in 1265. Even the Grange Laws and the laws of the Cattlemen's Association are derived from the *Leyes de Mestas* which were also brought to America by the Spanish *conquistadores*.

Needless to say, the American cowboy, his language, tools, attire, laws and way of life, are nothing more than an extension of his predecessor the Spanish *vaquero*.

A certain amount of acculturation between the Hispanic and non-Hispanic inhabitants of The Land has also produced various unique products. The food of the "Mexican American" is a good example. It can be divided into three types:

1. Non-Mexican, Indian food: tacos and enchiladas (as they are prepared in Texas and the Southwest in contrast to the true Mexican versions), *calabacita*, *menudo*, *barbacoa*, etc.

2. Mexican food: chicken and meat enchiladas, green enchiladas, *chilaquiles*, *pan dulce*, *machacado*, *carne asada*, etc.

3. Non-Mexican, Mexican-American food: (flour) tortillas and (flour) *tacos de harina*, pinto beans (black-eye and black beans are preferred in Mexico), *burritos*, *nachos*, *chile-con-carne* and *carne con chile*, etc.

The same type of acculturation has occurred to the music of the "Mexican-American" which is highly influenced by the music of both Mexico and the United States. The Teutonic polkas introduced to Texas in the 1840's by German immigrants were successfully adopted by the native *tejanos* to give rise to the non-Mexican, Mexican polkas. Contemporarily, the "pop" music of the Mexican-American is bilingual as well as bicultural. There is still a vast difference between the Mexican music and that of the Mexican-American. The difference, however, is spelled by education and economy.

The *corridos tejanos* which have existed at least since the 1840's continue to record whatever event, occurrence or personality affects the "Mexican American Community." Everything from the *Corrido de Kansas* concerning the cattle-drives to the first manned landing on the moon and the contemporary political hassles, continues to be captured in the *corridos tejanos*.

The biculture and bilingualism of the "Mexican American" is also seen in other often ignored aspects. For instance, the Mexican American observes Christmas on December 25th, instead of the arrival of the Three Kings on January 6th, as is done in Mexico. He also celebrates both the Fourth of July and the Sixteenth of September! Moreover, he fights, sues, upholds and dies for the U.S. Constitution, the U.S. Bill of Rights and the American judicial system. Over 99 out of a hundred "Mexican Americans" have never bothered to read the Mexican Constitution. It is simply not theirs or their country's.

Language-wise, the "Mexican American" communicates primarily in English (as the receptive language) and in Spanish as the balancing speaking language. More often than not he will speak a combination of the two. However, it should be noted that the non-Mexican American resident of the Southwest also sprinkles a great number of Hispanic words into his vocabulary. The only difference between the two is the frequency and combination of the two languages by the "Mexican American."

The "Mexican American" may have an English language first name, but it is usually balanced with a Spanish language surname. His family ties may be breaking down, yet a great number still observe and participate in *Las Posadas* and *Los Pastores* which were brought to The Land in the 16th century by their forefathers.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the multi if not dual cultural heritage of the "Mexican American" has become a matter of great concern for educators, sociologists, politicians and even the "Mexican American" himself. Unfortunately, many of these people would like to make him either more Mexican and less American or more American and less Mexican. Either and/or both efforts are bound to fail. The Mexican American cannot be either one because he is both. His cultural and historical heritage does not allow him to be either one. He is truly a frontier personality of the U.S.-Mexico border. He still belongs to The Land and his land, like himself, continues to be a wedge between the strong cultural heritage of the United States and Mexico.

CARRASCOLENDAS -- A TV EXPERIENCE IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Carol Perkins

Carrascolendas, the nations' first bilingual television series for Spanish-speaking youngsters (K-2) is a product of the joint efforts of the Education Service Center, Region XIII and KLRN TV of Austin, Texas.

The Series, composed of 30 half-hour programs in color has a Teacher's Guide and Visuals Kit especially designed to strengthen the instructional objectives of the program.

Evaluation of the series shows significant gains in the areas of English Language Skills and Self Concept in classrooms using the follow-up activities in the Guide.

Areas of the curriculum covered in *Carrascolendas* are:

English language skills
Spanish language skills
history and culture
self-concept
math
science
Spanish reading

The staff of ESC Region XIII is responsible for the educational framework of *Carrascolendas*. To this end teams of bilingual educators, curriculum specialists and experienced teachers are continually being brought in to help design, improve and update the instructional content of the program. Many bilingual educators are enthusiastic about the series precisely because of its sound educational base and its long-range goals. (See Goals)

KLRN TV has done an outstanding job of translating the instructional objectives into fast-paced interesting segments.

Indicative of the success of the program is its nationwide audience watching P.B.S. stations and the awards conferred on the series in recent months by the Corporation of Public Broadcasting, Ohio State University and the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences.

Long Range Goals

1. To cultivate in all pupils a pride in their mother tongue and in the culture it represents, as well as a respect for the second language and its culture.
2. To improve the self-concept and expectation level of success in the educational process of the target area children.
3. To develop language skills--understanding, speaking, reading and writing--in both English and Spanish for the participating pupils.
4. To use the development of language skills in the pupils' native language, Spanish, as a means of learning the second language, English.
5. To assist in the acquisition of experiental and conceptual understandings in the pupils' native language in order to overcome difficulties created by limited experiences in the second language.
6. To achieve normal academic progress as evidenced through improved scores on standardized tests, improved grades in school subjects and grade level achievement.

"A PROBLEM AND A PROMISE: TREATMENT OF MINORITIES IN THE HISTORY TEXTBOOKS - AN ANALYSIS, AN EVALUATION, A RECOMMENDATION"

Dr. Félix D. Almaraz, Jr.

Minority groups in American history books, as in the national experience, have been treated as marginal clusters that resist being assimilated into white, middle-class society. The treatment of minorities, it would come as no surprise, has followed the norms of the times. Almost without exception the general pattern has focused on Spanish-speaking explorers who roamed the borderlands and achieved minimal colonization; the French-speaking fur trappers and traders who migrated south from Canada into the Great Lakes region and the upper Mississippi Valley; and the Dutch-speaking commercial agents who penetrated the Hudson River Valley. The black Americans were a sub-group whose culture was tied to the dominant white Anglo-Saxon culture but whose members were treated as problems rather than people. The native American, viewed as a conglomerate whole rather than as distinct tribal families with separate identities and regions, is the only minority group that received prompt governmental attention with the creation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At the same, the Indian, like the black American, has constituted a problem.

In the course of a general history of the United States, minority groups have received renewed attention as immigration statistics: The Irish, Germans, Scotch-Irish, English, Scandanavians, and Italians have merited preferential treatment in descending order because, it seems, of their willingness to assimilate rapidly within one or two generations. They constituted the "Old Immigrants." Other minorities--Mexicans, eastern Europeans, Jews, and Orientals -- were combined as "New Immigrants." The minorities in the latter classification were, and still are, treated as resistors of assimilation or as cultural preservators. Throughout the nineteenth century, "Old Immigrants" and their descendents assimilated successfully into the upper and middle class structure; the "New Immigrants," with the exception of the Jews, filled the lower socio-economic stratum.

The success story of minority group immigrants is the record of exceptions rather than the rule. John Jacob Astor, Levi Strauss, Andrew Carnegie, Samuel Gompers, Arturo Toscanini, David Dubinsky, Albert Einstein, J. Robert Oppenheimer, Edward Teller and Enrico Fermi are names of onetime immigrants -- members of minority groups -- who have been treated in history text-books as sterling examples of American assimilation and acculturation.

If immigrants who became successful citizens are favorably treated, the same cannot be said for minority group members whose fatherlands are sources of adverse international relations vis-a-vis the United States. Even as late as the preceding decade, standard American history textbooks have given unfair treatment to minority groups. The Mexican American, or his compatriots, will serve as indicators of this tendency.

In a recent book dealing with modern national history, Mexican Americans have nothing about which to feel proud of their heritage. Venustiano Carranza is described as an anti-American revolutionist who launched a frontal attack on "foreign investments, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Mexican landed aristocracy." Doroteo Arango, or Pancho Villa, is "a wild and woolly bandit" who

> with wily, animal cunning, conceived a wild plan: he would institute a series of border incidents, provoke the United States into another armed intervention, and thereby see to the demise of Carranza's government.[1]

By comparison, in the same text, Italians and Russian Jews, unlike the Mexicans, received a less severe swath of the pen. At worst, while certain types of Italian immigrants of the 20th century are described as "anarchists," some Jews are condemned as "pacifists and socialists." The difference in treatment between the Mexicans and the southern and eastern Europeans is in identifying one or two individuals as opposed to grouping immigrants for unfair treatment according to political persuasion or inclination. The Japanese Americans received the fairest treatment in that it was written about "some 17,000 Nisei (native-born Americans of Japanese parents) ... served in the army [during World War Two] and did so with distinction."[3]

In another survey textbook of the United States history, the Spanish contributions to North American colonial development are confined to two double-columned pages in the introductory chapter. Three hundred and twenty pages later, the borderlands regain importance because of the Texas question.[4]

> Almost from the beginning there was friction between the settlers and both the Mexicans and the Mexican government.[5]

The implication is that Anglo-American immigrants into Mexican Texas were "settlers" and the native inhabitants were something less than desirable. Borderlands history in survey textbooks is made to fit a standardized pattern; Anglo-American immigrants into the Southwest are "pioneers," "settlers," "frontiersmen," "Americans," "colonists," and "trail-blazers." If the Southwest was a frontier area worthy of colonization, why is it that Spanish-speaking, Spanish-surnamed borderlanders are not classified as pioneers, settlers, frontiersmen, colonists and trail-blazers? A partial answer lies in the vantage point of the writer, his geographic setting, and his purpose for writing. One cannot dictate to an historian what he should write, but it is proper to suggest taking another look at the American experience in terms of its pluralistic society on both sides of the Mississippi River.

An examination of a popular survey textbook, one used for over ten years in most Texas colleges and universities, discloses an unflattering treatment of the Mexican Texas story.

> Spacious-minded Americans continued to covet the vast expanse ot Texas...The American immigrants were to be of the established Roman Catholic faith, and in addition were to become properly Mexicanized.
>
> There two restrictions were largely ignored. The hardy pioneers who reached Texas remained Americans at heart, resenting the trammels imposed by a

> 'foreign' government. They were especially annoyed by the presence of Mexican soldiers, many of whom were ragged and lousy ex-convicts.[6]

The battle of San Jacinto is interpreted exclusively as an Anglo-Texan achievement without references to the contributions of Mexican Texans.

> Long-headed Sam Houston proved equal to the occasion. ...[A] natural leader of the Texans, he lured the pursuers northward to San Jacinto,... Suddenly he turned, on April 21, 1836. Taking full advantage of the Mexican siesta hour, he wiped out the invading force and captured Santa Anna, who was found cowering in a tall grass near the battlefield. Confronted with thirsty Bowie knives, the quaking dictator was speedily induced to sign two treaties...[7]

If the foregoing prose is insulting to fair-minded listeners and readers, the following description of President Andrew Jackson's reaction to the outcome of San Jacinto leaves no doubt of the author's biased, almost racist, attitude toward Mexican and Indian minorities: "Jackson's heart was torn over the Texas issue. He hated the Mexican 'greasers' and admired the heroism of Sam Houston, his old comrade-in-arms against the Indians."[8]

The same attitude, in this textbook, is carried over to United States-Mexican relations in the early 20th Century:

> "The sinister figure of Francisco Villa had meanwhile stolen the center of the Mexican stage. A bloodthirsty combination of bandit and Robin Hood, he emerged as the chief rival of President Carranza, ... Villa showed his anger and contempt for the hated American 'gringos' in January, 1916, when his followers killed eighteen United States citizens in cold blood at San Ysabel, Mexico. The culminating outrage occurred in March, 1916, when Villistas shot up the town of

> Columbus, New Mexico, leaving behind seventeen dead Americans and many others injured.[9]

Still a fourth source, a two-volume edition, presents the familiar Texan-Mexican clash of arms in less chauvinistic overtones but with predetermined values of propriety.

> By 1938, some 30,000 Americans, chiefly from the South, had settled in the Mexican province of Texas...The Mexicans, who had at first welcomed immigration from the United States, were now becoming alarmed by this influx of 'gringoes.' They tried, belatedly, to enforce Mexican laws against slavery, and General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, the Mexican dictator, undertook to establish a firm control over the area north of the Rio Grande. The alarmed Texans proclained their independence on March 2, 1936. Santa Anna moved at the head of the Mexican army into Texas, massacred the garrison of the Alamo, at San Antonio, and at Goliad executed some 350 prisoners.[10]

Numerous examples could be cited from other American history textbooks to illustrate the problem that minority groups, especially Mexican Americans, are not given enough positive references about themselves. Such illustrations, however, would only belabor the question. For the Mexican Americans, particularly *Tejanos*, the deeds of Santa Anna continue to haunt them even into the middle of the 20th century.

The problem of the treatment of minorities is one involving attitudes, audiences, budgets, markets, reputations, and sources. The attitudes of most writers of survey histories seem to be closed to new interpretations of Mexican-United States relations. To be sure, they tend to be more tolerant in dealing with the Mexican War (1846-1848), probably because of the anti-war sentiment that permeates the nation, than with the Texas situation. The movement for Texan independence in the larger framework of American history is still being stereotyped as a clash of cultural values that resulted in military victory by a superior people. Although it could be argued that Santa Anna is better theatre than George III, the fact of the matter is that whereas the English king has been forgiven in the American collective memory, the Mexican president is still held up as an object of ridicule and contempt. Could it be that the wide expanse of the Atlantic Ocean is a more effective tranquilizer than the narrow stretches of the Rio Grande?

It is important for a writer of textbooks to know the composition of the audience which awaits his publications. A standard rule is not to offend anyone, or, failing in that, to keep the level of resentment at a minimum. The "Old Immigrants" cannot be criticized; the "New Immigrants," after a century of accommodation, have acclimatized and are entitled to a few cultural heroes. These considerations are subject to constant reassessment, and the writers, in consort with their publishers, can determine the scope and content of the textbooks.

It is in dealing with budgets, markets, reputations, and sources that the textbook writers have the most difficulty. First, the budget is set by the publishing house. A well established, proven writer might be persuasive enough to obtain a lucrative budget, but this is not always the case. Secondly, no matter how attractive or timely, in terms of educational needs of a particular region, if the market is not ripe for widespread distribution and sales, the publishers generally will not risk an investment in a textbook that might not get adopted. In other words, the book has to be safe and informative for a massive audience of students. Thirdly, the reputation of the writer is a dilemma that is difficult to gauge. Will a historian with sterling credentials jeopardize his reputation by publishing a manuscript that is wrought with controversy, and thus lose the respect of his peers in the profession? Or will he proceed with publication plans in the hope of becoming controversial and reaping sizeable profits? One might pose an additional question: Will a writer of less than adequate preparation be motivated to publish propaganda-type histories with the expectation of satisfying the needs of minority groups and, at the same time, establishing himself as a dilettante historian? Finally, the use of source materials to produce balanced, scholarly, readable instructional materials is a goal toward which all professional historians should set their aim. The abundance of Mexican primary sources in American depositories almost assures the attainment of this goal.

A glint of promise appears on the horizon in the form of the Texas history textbooks for middle-school and high-school students. Less than ten years ago, the Texas history books on the state-adopted list included passages with enlarged versions of the persistent enigma of Santa Anna.

> Santa Anna was a dictator at heart. He considered himself the 'Napoleon of the West.' At times, he could be gracious and charming, but underneath he was cruel and dangerous and determined to rule as an absolute dictator. His addiction to dope made him unpredictable, and he was without honor. He was deceitful and betrayed those who trusted him.[11]

All the same, this was the first textbook that began citing the achievements of modern-day Mexican Americans. Henry B. Gonzalez, Congressman from San Antonio, scored the initial breakthrough in textbooks when it was written that the then Vice President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, campaigned for his election, emphasizing Gonzalez'

> Latin-American origin, since the 20th [Congressional] District has many Latin-Americans living there. When the votes were counted Henry Gonzalez had won. He was the first Texan of Mexican descent to represent Texas in Congress.[12]

The beginning was humble, but then such were the initial stirrings in those years. Admittedly, the trend toward providing the Mexican American with a positive self-image has continued into the decade of the Seventies. For example, a recent textbook on modern Texas history described Henry Gonzalez' political race for the governorship in laudable terms:

> In 1958 nobody but the liberals was criticizing [Governor[Price Daniel. He was in that year opposed by a real liberal in the person of Henry B. Gonzalez [sic], the heavy-set, colorful San Antonio man who was a state senator. Gonzalez was not original,

> but knew his liberal doctrine well and meant it seriously. Consequently he frightened many Texans. His support was among the minority groups, those disenchanted people who had been strongly Democratic or Republican, and in part, labor. Daniel lacked the fire and glamour of Gonzales, but he won the race...[13]

The outcome of the 1958 campaign, in the long view of history as a written art form, is not as important as how it is recorded for posterity. Another recent textbook included the following statement on the subject:

> Governor Daniel was reelected in 1958. He defeated state senator Henry B. Gonzales, who later was elected to Congress from San Antonio. Gonzales served on the San Antonio city council and was the first Mexican-American state senator since Jose Antonio Navarro ended his term in 1948.[14]

The Mexican American, as a minority group, is receiving more attention in the Texas history textbooks. A representative sampling from several sources will underscore this point.

> In 1960 just under 15 percent of the population was Mexican American, yet no Texas congressman was Mexican American. Henry B. Gonzales was elected to Congress the following year. Eligio de la Garza from Mission, who had served six terms in the legislature, was elected to Congress in 1964 and has been reelected three times....[15]

As the field of politics is adequately covered, so are other endeavors involving the Mexican American. In the area of civil rights the record of achievement is impressive:

> Many Mexican American veterans returned to Texas to find discriminatory practices still existing in education, employment, housing, and medical care. A young medical corps veteran, Dr. Hector P.

> Garcia of Corpus Christi, founded the American GI Forum to combat discrimination against Mexican American veterans. By making complaints to many of the agencies involved the organization curtailed many of the abuses.[16]

Equally impressive is the story of Mexican Texans who fought in World War Two:

> Several Mexican Americans were among the thirty-six Texans who won the Congressional Medal of Honor. Sergeant Luciano Adams of Port Arthur was cited for a single-handed assault on a German force, and Sergeant Macario Garcia from Sugar Land was cited for bravery under fire. Private Silvestre P. Herrera from El Paso continued to attack until his companions could capture an enemy position, although he had sustained terrible injuries from the explosion of a mine. Sergeant Cleto Rodriguez of San Marcos and another soldier attacked a railroad station held by three hundred enemy troops. Sergeant José M. López of Brownsville won the Medal of Honor for bravery under heavy artillery fire.[17]

The promising treatment of minorities, however, is not confined to the Mexican American. Other minorities are included, such as the Greeks.

> Jimmie and Mike Cokinos of Beaumont were sons of a Greek restaurant owner. During World War II, Mike won the Silver and Purple Heart for service in Germany, and Jimmie was awarded the Bronze Star for service in the Philippines. After the war, Jimmie Cokinos was a Beaumont city councilman for ten years. In 1956 he became Texas's first mayor of Greek parentage.[18]

The black Texans are also claiming a share of the State's heritage:

> Texas Negro businessmen, including Robert L. Smith, journeyed to a meeting of the National Negro Business League in Kansas in 1907. They decided that Texas needed

> such an organization and called a meeting in Fort Worth in 1908. The movement resulted in the organization of the Texas Negro Business League, a forerunner of the Texas Negro Chamber of Commerce. Smith was one of the Negro leaders who felt that Negroes should have their own banks to sponsor their business organizations, and he founded the Farmers Improvement Bank in Waco in 1908...[19]

The foregoing quotations serve to reinforce the contention that in the Texas history textbooks the concept of a pluralistic society has superceded the once-popular "melting-pot" thesis of the American experience. Texas is very much a part of the Southwest, and the Southwest is a part of the nation. A most noticeable change has occured in the interpretations of the War for Texan Independence.

> When we speak of Texas history, why should we cling to stories of Anglo-Americans fleeing the oncoming Mexican legions? Is there not more? There are indeed other considerations. To begin with, it was not necessarily any one type of person who comprised the Texas Army in 1836, so why should we study that army only from the point of view of the Anglo-American? True, he was in the majority but there were others. Juan Seguin, Mexican-Texan officer, led the Mexican-Texas cavalry against the Mexican force and was responsible for burying the ashes of the heroes of the Alamo. Digging deeper we find that the so-called Mexican army was not particularly Mexican. Some of the officers were Anglo-Americans.[20]

Just as the written impression of the Mexican American minority is changing in the Texas history textbooks, other changes are becoming evident. Numerous history textbooks and trade books are using the meticulous and historically accurate illustrations of José Cisneros, the El Paso artist,[21] whom I am privileged to have as a friend. In the field of historiograph,recognition is finally being given to the dean of the Mexican American historians.

> Carlos E. Castañeda a University of Texas professor, wrote the best history of early mission and presidios. Using Texas history as a framework, Castaneda wrote seven volumes entitled Our Catholic Heritage [in Texas: 1519-1836]. He also collected diaries and statements from Santa Anna, General Urrea and other Mexican leaders in the Texas Revolution. Although some had been translated before, it was Castañeda who put them together in a publishable translation, as The Mexican Side of the Texan Revolution. These records show that disputes and personal jealousy played an important part of Mexico's defeat."[22]

Other Mexican American historians are actively working in the vineyards producing textbooks, such as Manuel Servin[23] in Arizona and Julian Nava[24] and Rudolph Acuña[25] in California.

Even Santa Anna's image is changing:

> On January 25 [1836] Santa Anna, looking rather like a Spanish conquistador in his magnificent uniform of red and black with gold braid and wearing a dazzling $7,000 sword, left Saltillo at the head of his troops and rode northward toward Texas. How quickly his soldiers responded to his commands. Since speed was important, they reached the Rio Grande (near Laredo), only 165 miles from San Antonio, on February 12...[26]

Five years ago this very week Congressman Henry B. Gonzales addressed the First Texas Conference for the Mexican American. Gonzales' observations were indeed prophetic.

> In the case of the Negro, [he said] the school textbooks typically have ignored the Negro's positive accomplishments, mentioning him only as a slave, seldom ever as a free man. The books do not mention his music, his great heroes, his hopes, his problems... Fortunately, all of this is being recognized, and

> the textbooks are at last beginning to treat the Negro as a human being, presenting him in a true light. I submit that the same thing must be done for the Spanish-surnamed American. The textbooks cannot ignore him, for he exists, and he knows it; and nothing that is left out of the books will change that fact.[27]

Half a decade later, every textbook on the state-adopted list contains positive references to the minorities. It is gratifying to read passages such as the following:

> Next to the Germans, the largest single foreign-born group was from Mexico. In 1860, more than 12,000 natives of Mexico lived in Texas. The impact of Mexican culture was much greater than this, for many more native-born Texans spoke Spanish and had a Mexican heritage. The Mexican American life style and culture had its greatest impact south of a line from Corpus Christi to San Antonio to Del Rio, and in far West Texas around El Paso. In these areas, where almost all Mexican Americans lived, the way of life was very different from that of other areas of the state. The dominant religion was Catholic, the universal language was Spanish, and the economy was a ranching rather than a farming one. The houses, public buildings, street layouts, and amusements of San Antonio, Laredo, and El Paso reflected then as now the Mexican heritage of a large portion of the residents.[28]

And the trend continues on a positive vein:

> Mexican Americans, though among the earliest residents of Texas, have generally retained many of the distinctive ways of their cultural heritage. Family members are close and loyal to one another. Religion is important,...Most speak English, but many also speak Spanish fluently. Thus, they are BILINGUAL.

> Today many Mexican Americans emphasize the continued importance of the Spanish language. They point out that they are different from other minority groups--such as Czechs, Poles, or Germans--when they came to Texas. As a result, these people or their descendants became 'Americanized' in many ways, including their use of the English language. Texas, however, was carved from the homeland of the Mexican Americans. It was a blending of Spanish, Mexican and Indian cultures long before becoming a part of the United States. This, they argue, makes Spanish a native language.[31]

Throughout this entire discourse I have alluded to a problem and a promise. The problem is that writers and publishers of American history textbooks, especially the university division, have not moved fast enough to accommodate the contributions of minority groups. I do not believe that it is because writers manifest negative attitudes toward minorities; rather, it is because the nature of survey textbooks is such that only a general overview of the American experience is possible. All in all, the publishers need to be made aware that the few references to specific minority groups, particularly the Mexican American, are insulting at worst and inaccurate at best. They also need to be reminded that revisions are imperative in order to complement the instructional and behavioral changes that are currently taking place in the elementary and secondary schools.

On the horizon a promise is clearly visible in the Texas history textbooks that present the minorities in a positive light. Such changes were long overdue. Now that they are upon us, it behooves us as educators to examine these new materials in terms of our own cultural and professional background. The challenge is imminent and we cannot escape it.

Almost ninety years ago, Walt Whitman, reflecting on the social dislocations caused by the Civil War, wrote an apology for not being able to attend the 33rd anniversary of the founding of the royal city of Santa Fe, New Mexico. His remarks, written in 1883, have universal application at this conference.

> In the late nineteenth century, as now, Mexican Americans were noted for their love of gaiety. . . *Cinco de Mayo* and *Diez y Seis de Septiembre* are national holidays of Mexico frequently celebrated by Texans, then and now. Ignacio Zaragosa, born in Goliad, commanded the Mexican forces in the May 5, 1862, victory over the French. It is commemorated by *Cinco de Mayo*. Another prominent Texan of Mexican heritage was Santos Benavides. His varied career included service as the mayor of Laredo, as a captain of Texas state troops, brigadier general at the Battle of Palmito Ranch, as a partner in the family mercantile business, as a member of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth legislatures and as the Texas commissioner to the World's Cotton Exposition in 1884.[29]

In the context of new interpretations of Texas' pluralistic society, the following passage is significant:

> It is important to remember that the struggle for [Texan] independence was not the work of any one nationality. While it is true that Anglo-Americans such as Stephen F. Austin, Sam Houston, and William B. Travis were among the leaders of the Revolution, people from various nations and cultures supported the effort for independence. Three Texans of Mexican ancestry, Jose Antonio Navarro, Jose Francisco Ruiz, and Lorenzo de Zavala, were signers of the Declaration of Independence. Many other Mexicans, such as Juan Seguin who commanded a cavalry detachment in the Texas army, took part in military operations against Santa Anna.[30]

Finally, a new book into which I had some input as editorial adviser, contains a summary of the Mexican Americans in modern Texas. It explains why an understanding of the historical heritage of the Spanish-speaking, Spanish-surnamed Texan is of paramount importance to the success of bilingual education.

> We Americans have yet to really learn our own antecedents, and sort them, to unify them. They will be found ampler than has been supposed, and in widely different sources. Thus far, impressed by New England writers and schoolmasters, we tacitly abandon ourselves to the notion that our United States have been fashioned essentially from a second England only--which is a very great mistake. Many leading traits for our future National Personality, and some of the best ones, will certainly prove to have originated from other than British stock. As it is, the British and German, valuable as they are in the concrete, already threaten excess. Today, something outside of them, and to counterbalance them, is seriously needed.
>
> To that composite American identity of the future, [the] Spanish character will supply some of the most needed parts. No stock shows a grander historic retrospect--grander in religiousness and loyalty, or for patriotism, courage, decorum, gravity and honor...
>
> As the Spanish stock of our Southwest, it is certain to me that we do not begin to appreciate the splendor and sterling value of its...[ethnic] element. Who knows but that element, like the course of some subterranean river, dipping invisible for a hundred or two hundred years, is now to emerge in broadest flow and permanent action?[32]

The organization of this National Conference on Bilingual Education is a fulfillment of the prediction given by Walt Whitman, the poet who gave to us "I Hear America Singing." This, then, has been my assessment of a problem and a promise.

NOTES

[1] Forrest McDonald, *The Torch is Passed: The United States in the 20th Century*, (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1968), p. 151.

[2] Ibid., 167.

[3] Ibid., 311.

[4] Richard N. Current. T. Harry Williams, and Frank Freidel, *American History: A Survey*, third edition, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), pp. 10-12.

[5] Ibid., 333.

[6] Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant: A History of The Republic*, third edition, (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1966), p. 271.

[7] Ibid., 272-273.

[8] Ibid., 273.

[9] Ibid., 703-704.

[10] Dexter Perkins and Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *The United States of America: A History*, 2 vols., (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1968), I, 398.

[11] H. Bailey Carroll, Frances Nesmith, and Mary Jane Gentry, *The Story of Texas*, (New York: Noble and Noble, 1963), p. 89.

[12] Ibid., 351.

[13] William Seale, *Texas in Our Time: A History in the Twentieth Century*, (Dallas: Hendrick-Long Publishing Company, 1972), p. 202.

[14] June Rayfield Welch, *Texas: New Perspectives*, (Austin: Steck-Vaughn Company, 1972), p. 398.

[15] Ibid., 402.

[16] Ibid., 355.

[17] Ibid., 347-348.

[18] Ibid., 340.

[19] Ibid., 219.

[20] Seale, *Texas in Our Time*, 241-42.

[21] Jim Pearson, Ben H. Procter, and William B. Conroy, *Texas: The Land and Its People*, (Dallas: Hendrick-Long Publishing Company, 1972), pp. 59, 98, 100, 111, 118, 231; Felix D. Almaraz, Jr., *Tragic Cavalier: Governor Manuel Salcedo of Texas*, 1808-1813 (Austin: University of Texas Press); Jose Cisneros, *Riders of the Border*, (Southwestern Studies Monograph No. 30; El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1971); *The Spanish Texans*, (San Antonio: Institute of Texan Cultures, 1972).

[22] Pearson, Procter, and Conroy, *Texas: The Land and Its People*, pp. 572-573.

[23] Manuel P. Servin (ed), *The Mexican-Americans: An Awakening Minority*, (Beverly Hills: Glenco Press, 1970).

[24] Julian Nava, *Mexican Americans: Past, Present, Future*, (New York: American Book Company, 1969); *Mexican Americans: A Brief Look at Their History*, (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'reth, 1970).

[25] Rudolph Acuna, *The Story of the Mexican Americans: The Men and the Land*, (New York: American book Company, 1969); *A Mexican American Chronicle*, (New York: American Book Company, 1971).

[26] Pearson, Procter, and Conroy, *Texas: The Land and Its People*, p. 228.

[27] Henry B. Gonzalez, "The Hope and the Promise." *Improving Educational Opportunities for the Mexican-American: Proceedings of the First Texas Conference for the Mexican American*, eds. Drain M. Estes and David W. Darling (Austin: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Inter-American Center, and Texas Education Agency, 1967), p. 120.

[28] James V. Reese and Lorrin Kennamer, *Texas--Land of Contrast: Its History and Geography*, (Austin: W.S. Benson & Company, 1972), p. 270.

[29] Adrian N. Anderson and Ralph A. Wooster, *Texas and Texans*, (Austin: Steck-Vaughn Company, 1972), pp. 249-50.

[30] Ibid., p. 148.

[31] Allan O. Knowslar, *The Texans: Their Land and History*, (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., 1972). pp. 440-41.

[32] Letter of Walt Whitman to the Gentlemen at Sante Fe, Camden, New Jersey, July 21, 1883 (Copy furnished the author by the Honorable Henry B. Gonzalez, M.C.).

TECHNIQUES OF MEASURING LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT IN BILINGUAL PROGRAMS

Dr. Chester C. Christian, Jr.

For most of us, not only our best guarantee of social and economic success, but even our best guarantee of immortality is predicated upon our use of language. As W. H. Auden has put it:

> Time that is intolerant
> Of the brave and innocent,
> And indifferent in a week
> To a beautiful physique
>
> Worships language and forgives
> Everyone by whom it lives;
> Pardons cowardice, conceit,
> Lays its honors at their feet.

Many years ago I heard a more prosaic version of this message in a speech by a president of the American Sociological Association to a group of graduating Ph.D.s in sociology. In essense, he told them that if they had learned to use language or mathematics effectively they were in a good position to begin to become successful sociologists; if they had learned neither, they should resign themselves to routine jobs and a routine life.

Those who have routine jobs and a routine life are admonished by advertisers, especially in lowbrow magazines, to improve their lot by improving their vocabulary. The readers of highbrow magazines presumably know that for them it is not so simple; above a given level the formulas are so complex and involve so many variables that they can only be learned by association with those who set the standards -- and by modification as well as imitation of these standards.

Traditionally, measurements of language development have been made by monolingual teachers in a monolingual society, and have reflected the sociocultural criteria used by the society in correlating the social and economic role of the person with his use of language. Before approaching the problem of measuring bilingual language development, let us take a look at some of the implicit assumptions made by most teachers in their measurement of language development.

Teacher measurements of language development are almost invariably normative; that is, based on standards recognized as authoritative. These standards are in general derived from a number of implicit assumptions about language, such as: 1) the language of the teacher is better than that of the community in general, 2) the language used in books is better than that which is spoken but not written, 3) the language used in the city is better than that used in the country, 4) language used by adults is better than that used by children or adolescents, 5) language used by professionals is better than that used by laborers or tradesmen, 6) language used by law-abiding citizens is better than that used by criminals, 7) language used by the wealthy is better than that used by the poor, 8) language used by the majority of the population is better than that used by.... Here you can fill in the name of any minority ethnic group you choose.

Most teachers do not consciously hold such a rigid value system, but these value judgments are built into almost every book, every lesson, and every standardized test provided for their use. With experience, they become progressively more skillful in inculcating the implied values, and their pupils learn to give the right answers and speak with the right accent in life as well as in school. In a monolingual and monocultural society, the process is fairly simple and straightforward, and in the United States it creates the highest degree of social and economic mobility known to the modern world. This occurs principally because the language of higher prestige groups is taught to members of lower prestige groups, and tests indicate to the student the type of language behavior which is to be expected as he rises in the social hierarchy.

Bilingual programs were created specifically to increase upward socioeconomic mobility for the least mobile ethnic groups in U.S. society; this seems to be the only possible rationale for requiring poverty on the part of groups which are to be taught in two languages. However, no bilingual standards have been developed which function in U.S. society as do monolingual standards, providing the type of measurement of language development which reflects societal standards and contributes significantly to degree and type of mobility, so there are no guidelines for the traditionalist.

Most bilingual program personnel have no special ideology of language to defend; many have, however, become confused by the conflicting ideologies of specialists who are consulted. One rather general result seems to have been a double standard, with use of the prestige forms of English, and acceptance of the non-prestige forms of Spanish. This may be appropriate if it is assumed that Spanish will never be used outside the local community, and that English will be the only instrument of social mobility. However, another implication seems to be that the education and social position of the person who uses both Spanish and English will, in general, always be inferior to that of the person who speaks only English. For many reasons, I believe that it is highly desirable that bilingual programs attempt to maintain parallel levels of ability in both languages, and that this form the basis for measurement of development in each.

With this in mind, let us have a look at some of the specific techniques which have been used in bilingual programs to obtain baseline data and measure language development in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing Spanish and English. These are predominantly techniques I have observed in use as an auditor for bilingual programs in Texas; here I would like to indicate some of the sociocultural implications of their use as well as an estimate of their general efficacy as instruments of measurement.

Measurements of ability to understand spoken language:

One of the most obvious justifications for the establishment of bilingual programs was the fact that many pupils began attending schools in which teachers spoke only a language which pupils had not learned at home and did not understand. However, there was apprehension in many quarters that the Spanish used by a teacher would not be understood by pupils; one bilingual program proposal, for example, stated as an objective the elimination of the "Mexican dialect" from the community because, the writers said, children from different neighborhoods could not even understand each other.

This is just one of the many bits of nonsense of this type which have been in circulation, which could have been disproved by a nodding acquaintance with linguistics, and which have been disproved in practice by bilingual programs. The first program I visited was in a community where I had never been before, and where school officials were not at all sure that children could understand "real" Spanish. It took me only a few minutes of conversation with the children in one of the schools to be able to assure the officials that five-year-old children could understand the Spanish that I use in university teaching, with my own children or my Peruvian wife, or in any Latin American country that I visit, and that I could understand anything they might have to say to me. This type of measurement is almost instantaneous; the use of a few words implies whole segments of knowledge and experience, and strangers familiar with a given language quickly judge the capacity of each other to understand.

Spanish is one of the most universal of languages in the sense of the mutual intelligibility of national, regional, or local variations. Difficulties in understanding arise from vocabulary limitations, but almost never, as is so common in English, from sound variation. In the United States, relative lack of contact with the written language has signified the limitation of vocabulary to that associated with immediate experience for most children whose home language is Spanish.

Since tests of vocabulary generally assume some familiarity with written materials together with knowledge of terms associated with family living, these children often score low on vocabulary tests both in Spanish and in English. They may, for example, know the names of animals only in English and the names of household items only in Spanish.

Especially in bilingual programs, it is important to know both the nature and extent of vocabulary in each language. Teachers often do not know what pupils have not understood until they give them tests, and even then do not know whether failure to understand or failure of memory leads to incorrect response.

Ideally, the teacher should know the range of vocabulary for each pupil in each language in terms of that which will be used with a class in a given time period. Good teachers are skilled at obtaining this information informally, regularly eliciting responses in the course of the class which measure the degree to which each pupil understands what is being said.

In many ways, this informal type of measurement provides more accurate data than do formal instruments. For example, I made another visit to the aforementioned community after a year, and reviewed the scores on a Spanish version of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. The highest score in one class had been made by a pupil whose home language was English and who had known no Spanish at all at the beginning of the year. Impressed by the score, I decided to converse with the pupil in Spanish, but found it impossible; the pupil could understand individual words, but could not understand normal Spanish conversation.

For many and varied cultural and linguistic reasons, most pupils in the United States--in fact, most students, from beginning elementary school through the university--whose home language is Spanish produce lower scores on both teacher constructed and standardized tests than do others who do not know Spanish. This is because tests of language inevitably are tests of culture: of life experience, of attitudes, values, and of conformity to the dominant culture, of patterns of thought and experience which reflect its characteristics.

The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, for example, is one of the simplest tests of understanding spoken words; in response to a spoken word, the pupil simply points to one of four pictures which represent it. However, neither the words nor the pictures are culturally neutral.

For example, one of the pictures is of blocks which have letters or pictures on the four sides These items, so common in the child culture of the United States, are not common enough in the culture of the Spanish-speaking population of the world for a word to have been developed to refer to them. If children who do not have blocks, or a word to refer to them, are culturally deprived, then most of the Spanish-speaking children of the world are culturally deprived.

Another picture shown is that of a caboose. This word may not even be satisfactory for children whose home language is English nowadays, in view of the fact that few have an occasion to view a freight train, much less wait at the crossing until the caboose passes by. In any case, the Spanish language has never singled out this particular vehicle for special attention; it is simply "the last car on a freight train."

Other words on the test are related to sports which are popular in the United States, such as baseball and football, but which are much less commonly played among people who speak Spanish, and children will not know standard words to refer to equipment or actions associated with them simply because in Spanish such words do not exist.

These facts indicate the necessity of developing linguistic variations in bilingual and bicultural areas; to a great extent, variations of Spanish on the U.S.-Mexico border are the result of a unique combination of linguistic and cultural experiences, but standardized instruments are not designed to measure this type of linguistic and cultural background.

In view of the lack of suitable standardized instruments to measure the understanding of spoken Spanish in a bicultural situation, translations have been made of standardized English tests. A local translation made by bilingual program personnel of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test illustrates some of the technical as well as the cultural problems of tests of this type.

For example, the test uses "freckle" and a picture of a boy with freckles. In Spanish, the corresponding term, "*peca*," is also a form of the verb "*pecar*" and as such signifies "he sins." A large proportion of the children picked out another picture on the same page in response to this word, of a man behind bars. This is especially logical when it is considered that in Spanish, as in English, the word for "freckle" is not normally used in the singular.

Another such problem is illustrated by the use of the term "sewing" and a picture of a little girl sewing. The word in Spanish is "*cosiendo*"; however, there is another word, "*cociendo*," which is pronounced identically and refers to "cooking." And there is a picture of another little girl cooking on the same page; some pupils chose one and some chose the other. An interview with a group of these children showed that they knew the meaning of both words although most of them used a more common word, "*cocinando*," for "cooking." However, when asked what the pictures represented in each case, the most common response was "playing." They did not think that children of the age represented would be either sewing or cooking as adults do.

Another type of test of ability to understand spoken language might utilize sentences rather than words as a stimulus for identification of pictures. One such test was created for use in a bilingual program by the adaptation of the Interamerican Reading Test to measure comprehension of spoken language. The written sentences were deleted, and the sentences were read in both English and Spanish to pupils who selected pictures represented by the meaning of the sentence. This has produced results which seem to have a high degree of validity, and which are in principle more satisfactory than tests of understanding single words.

It was noted, however, that certain of the items were clued by one word in the sentence, and in some cases those who understood less well made the appropriate picture selection, while others who understood better but imperfectly did not. This is presumed to result from the attempt by the latter to capture the meaning of the entire statement, while the former might have focused only on the one word which was the clue to the appropriate selection.

Another possible negative influence on the validity of the test was that the four pictures of the sets from which pupils made choices were all within one frame, and some pupils seemed at times to see two of the four as one picture unit.

Measurements of ability to *speak* in Spanish and English:

Valid measurements of speaking ability are inherently more difficult to design and administer than are tests of ability to understand. In addition to vocabulary, speech utilizes complex pronunciation and intonation patterns which may give special meaning to words used, and may even reverse the meaning of a given word or expression.

Speech is also a much more intimate aspect of social behavior than are other language activities--an overt declaration of family and group membership, so that patterns of speech are difficult to modify in the formal educational process. For example, my high school English teacher once told me that she had never known anyone else who could at one and the same time write so beautifully and speak so horribly. I did not tell her, but I thought to myself that if I spoke as she did I would be ostracized by all my friends.

It is possible, however, to measure spoken vocabulary in much the same way that listening vocabulary is measured--by the use of pictures. This process may be used, in fact, to develop more satisfactory tests of understanding, since the child may not understand a given word used on a test, but may understand and be able to produce another which is just as satisfactory for testing purposes.

Utilization of this process with children in bilingual programs has demonstrated characteristics of language development which indicate linguistic or cultural gaps in one or both languages. For example, one group of children identified a picture of napkins in a restaurant-type holder as "paper," "*papel de toilet*," and Kleenex. This seemed to indicate a simple lack of experience with this specific object. Two of three children identified a wrist watch as a clock; in Spanish, there is only one word to denote the two objects. They identified a piece of pie as "cake"; there is no standard word for pie in Spanish. All of them knew what a saddle was used for, but none of them knew a word for it in either Spanish or English.

Spoken language is an especially sensitive area of measurement because it is so closely related to economic, cultural, and social structures. His use of one word may identify a person as a farm hand, a doctor, a narcotics addict, a pedant, etc. There are words used almost exclusively by university graduates, and others used just as exclusively by illiterates, words used almost exclusively by women and others almost exclusively by men.

Social origins and roles are revealed not only by vocabulary, but also by grammatical structures, pronunciation, intonation, rhythm, and other components of language which are rarely measured formally except by linguists. However, teachers must learn to give some attention to these aspects of language use if the stated objectives of most bilingual programs are to be met.

Here there are again technical as well as cultural problems. Native use of a given language affects ability to produce the sounds of a second language in predictable ways, and linguists have worked out the details of this type of influence in great detail for most languages. In one bilingual program, a "Diagnostic Test for Sound Problems," facilitates the analysis of Spanish influences upon English pronunciation, for exsmple.

Such a test is, however, difficult to score without special training in hearing exactly the sounds produced. Even specialists sometimes have blind spots. For example, in a class in Spanish pronunciation at U.C.L.A., the professor, a Spaniard and an actor as well as professor, prided himself on his pronunciation, and told us that he practiced pronunciation exercises half an hour each morning so that his Spanish would not become contaminated by English influences. His one peculiarity was that he pronounced the word *"ustedes"* as *"ustides."* One day a student asked him why. He was shocked, and exclaimed, "But I do not say ustides; I say ustides!"

Tests such as the one mentioned can at least focus attention on the existence of sounds difficult for speakers of a given language to use, however, and by tape recording sounds and keeping a written analysis, notes may be compared when there is an opportunity with a specialist in phoneme analysis. This may allow the teacher to be more aware of his own language peculiarities.

In Spanish, as in English and other languages, certain sounds are associated with rurality, illiteracy, poverty, etc. An example is the use of the g as a glide consonant, as in *aigre* instead of *aire*, *guevos* instead of *huevos* . Some archaic forms are also identified in this manner, as *ansina* instead of *así*, *vido* instead of *vi*, and *trujo* instead of *trajo*.

A traditional service of educational systems has been to provide models which will facilitate variations of language behavior which are acceptable in any cultural or social situation, and which do not create discrimination against the user. However, because of the time and specilized training necessary for testing of spoken language, emphasis on this aspect of training has been restricted to "finishing schools" which specialize in teaching high-prestige behavior in general.

Other aspects of testing spoken language include various dimensions of fluency, such as complexity, descriptive abilities, etc. This has been accomplished in bilingual programs by recording and analyzing descriptions of complex pictures, series of pictures, etc. Again, however, analysis is time-consuming and there are no generally accepted norms.

A calculation of the number of pupils in a given class, and the number of hours with a teacher can give an idea of the absolute limitations on oral recital, and the reason for the necessity of something like a language laboratory for measurement of spoken language behavior.

Measurement of reading abilities:

In view of the fact that there are many more sociocultural variations in spoken than in written language, it would seem that tests of reading would be free from some of the types of bias found in tests of speaking and understanding spoken language, at least when factual material rather than spoken language is represented. However, here again we find represented the sociocultural background of the wealthy, the urban dweller, in terms difficult to understand by those without that background.

For example, not long ago I attempted to discover why a pupil who seemed to be able to read with facility missed almost every question about two paragraphs on the reading section of the Comprehensive Test of Basic Abilities. One of the paragraphs, I found, described a sailboat which (not very logically) tipped over in the rain. The pupil had no acquaintance with sailboats in or out of the rain, and did not seem to understand why a boat should be addressed affectionately and have a girl's name.

The other paragraph described a situation where a boy lived in an apartment and had to climb nine floors to play on the roof. This again was completely out of the range of experience of the pupil, who lived in a trailer house and had never heard of an "apartment," either in English or Spanish. Neither the expression "climbing floors" nor other key phrases made sense to her, and it therefore seemed that her reading failure was more likely experientially than mechanically based.

One of the advantages of Spanish as a language to learn to read is the close correspondence between the written symbols and the sounds of the spoken language. Several teachers in bilingual programs have told me that it is not even necessary for them to teach Spanish reading; if they provide the materials, pupils learn to read by themselves. However, in asking pupils questions about what they have read in Spanish, I have noted, as in understanding spoken language, serious gaps in vocabulary. Pupils may have the impression that they have read the material because they know the pronunciation of every word in it, but often concepts of words used are very vague.

Standardized tests, as briefly indicated above, implicitly assume a certain type of reading background on the part of the pupil, and certain specific linguistic problems in reading. They are therefore no more appropriately used in translation than are other materials for testing pronunciation and understanding. Neither are satisfactory tests available from other countries where Spanish is the dominant language, principally because there is not the type of emphasis on measurement in the culture of those countries that there is in the United States.

In spite of lack of standardization, teacher tests of Spanish reading based on materials used (from language experience charts to textbooks) are probably the most appropriate form of measurement available at the present time.

Tests of writing abilities:

There is much more social and educational pressure for standardization of written than of spoken forms of language, and the result in every literate society is a dual set of standards; however, as a general rule the more education a person has, the more closely his speech follows written forms of the language in vocabulary, structure, thought and expression. This is the principal ground for distinguishing the urban resident from his country cousin, the teacher from the student, the adult from the child, the professional from the tradesman, the wealthy from the poor, etc.

Tests of writing ability, then, are characterized by the embodiment of rigid standards to a much greater degree than tests of any other language ability. One of the most common types of errors in written language results from the use of spelling which indicates pronunciation which does not follow the standard written form. Another type is the writing of words which are used in speaking but not considered acceptable as written language.

These generalizations are, of course, excepting the intentional written representation of spoken language, as in the case of the novelist, dramatist, etc. It is in this type of writing that the dual system becomes most evident: what the novelist says as a novelist (in descriptions, etc.) contrasts sharply in most cases with what his characters say.

Written language is, then, to a great extent the source of the type of linguistic hierarchy characteristic of literate societies, and one of the most common forms of facilitating sociocultural and socioeconomic mobility is through an educational system where those in relatively low positions in the hierarchy become acquainted with the standards of written language, and gradually approximate them in their use of other forms of language, both passively and actively.

Traditionally, the highest measure of writing ability has been accorded to the poet, and in no other language is the standard of the poet more widely recognized than it is in Spanish. There are linguistic as well as cultural reasons for this: Spanish lends itself to rhythmic patterns and melodious sounds, as well as to the open expression of the entire range of human emotions with much more effectiveness than most other languages. For this reason, one of the most common standards for judging writing ability in Spanish-speaking countries is the standard of the poet.

Lest you believe that this standard is absent from the Hispanic traditions of the Southwest, I would like to refer you to another presentation at this conference, that of a young man born in El Paso, Texas and educated in El Paso schools, who responds most admirably to the poetic tradition both in Spanish and in English. He is Rafael González.

I would like to suggest that he represents an ideal of language development to whicn we should aspire in the bilingual programs of the United States. In his case there is no cowardice nor conceit to pardon, but if time is to lay its honors at his feet I regret to say that we must congratulate only him, and not the educational system with which he has had to struggle. I hope that in the future the educational system, and especially bilingual education, and especially you as representatives of the system who carry out the objectives of bilingual education, can produce other bilingual students who will respond to the standards of language development to which he has responded.

THE NATIONAL MULTILINGUAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM
(ITS PURPOSE, GOALS AND OBJECTIVES)

Joe R. Ulibarrí

The National Multilingual Assessment Program is a federally funded project under the Title VII branch of the U.S. Office of Education. It is located in Stockton, California with the Stockton Unified School District being the Local Education Agency.

The Project became operational on July 1, 1971*. The Stockton-based office has been designated as the central headquarters for several other components of the program which are located throughout various states in the country. Model sites are established and operating in the following states:

California	(1 major component and 2 model sites)
Colorado	(1 model site)
New Mexico	(1 model site)
New York	(1 major component and 2 model sites)
Texas	(1 model site)

MAJOR GOALS

The supraordinate goal of the program, over the past year, has been to establish direction toward providing answers to issues arising out of problems in 1) assessing the skills, competencies and characteristics of children whose primary language is other than English; 2) problems associated with procedures used to determine appropriate class placement of these children, and (3) problems in providing inservice, preservice training for teachers who are unfamiliar with children whose social-cultural patterns are different from their own. As such, the major goals of the program may be described under three headings:

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*A major component of the Multilingual Assessment Program was in operation the previous year (1970-71) in Riverside, California. A brief description of the Riverside Component activities is provided at the end of this presentation.

1. Assessment
2. Pupil Placement
3. Teacher Training

In the following, the work that has been undertaken in each of these three aspects is briefly described.

Assessment

In addition to the major goals as stated above, the Multilingual Assessment Program embarked on a task of reviewing standardized instruments which are currently in use in the field by a large number of Title VII projects across the nation. Research has been initiated in this area in order to determine the technical viability of instruments which might show promise of being appropriate for the non-Anglo child. At the present time, the work in this portion of the project is proceeding at a very slow rate. This is due to the fact that we do not have the services of a full time qualified technical test reviewer. A part time consultant has been performing this task in a highly satisfactory manner, but the availability of the consultant's time is quite limited.

Test Appraisal

The primary purpose of this aspect of the project is to review and evaluate standardized tests being used to assess bilingual-bicultural children. Instruments used for children of a Spanish language background are being given first priority. Before such an evaluation can be undertaken, however, much preliminary work is required. The preliminary work involves establishing which tests are being used to assess bilingual-bicultural children and cataloguing these tests. Once these tests are catalogued, it is the decision of the Multilingual Assessment staff that intelligence capacity tests should be the initial group of tests to be examined with the most widely used of them to be examined first.

In addition to preparing a purely technical evaluation of the tests, a concerted effort is being made by the Miltilingual staff to gather information about the tests from the test users. To this end, there have been three nationwide mailings to primarily Spanish bilingual/bicultural projects. The letters have requested feedback concerning the use of the standardized tests.

As an end product, an integration of the two sources of information about standardized tests is envisioned. Once this integration of information has been achieved, the appropriate manner in which to disseminate this information will be explored.

Initial Pilot Study

Once the Model Sites were established, the Stockton based project began its initial research effort in piloting a model assessment procedure using a series of instruments (instruments brought to the project by Dr. Eduardo De Avila) in one of the schools at the Stockton Model Site. The results of this initial study have been analyzed and a technical report is being compiled for eventual publication. Dr. De Avila, in his paper, will describe this study in more detail.

Pupil Placement

Based on the results of our research and the information gathered from our developmental base data, suggestions, recommendations, and guidelines will be formulated for dissemination to local school districts to aid them in more appropriately placing children in classroom and curricula commensurate with their learning styles and potentials. Ultimately these guidelines will be presented in a document which can be effectively utilized by any number of school districts in the country.

Concomitantly with the above, an experimental program has been initiated in which local parents-educators-and interested parties will learn and share the responsibility with school officials in determining appropriate pupil placement models. The composition of the "Model Assessment Board" will be made on the basis of an over-all examination of local needs.

Teacher Training

Teacher awareness of culturally different children is a necessary prerequisite to ensure and enhance the successful entry of these children into the school milieu. The project intends to focus on the general area of developing teacher pre-service and inservice training materials and suggestions aimed at preparing more effective teaching skills for teachers who are unfamiliar with the socio-cultural patterns and traditions of non-Anglo children.

To accomplish this goal, the Multilingual Assessment Program plans to:

1) utilize the data and research developed by the project components and model try-out sites and integrate this information into a cultural package for teacher inservice training;

2) conduct a series of workshops, both at the Project Headquarters and at the model sites to try out these materials;

3) make the necessary modifications and/or revisions, where applicable, to accommodate for regional differences, and

4) provide the results of pilot studies, research findings and other printed and visual material to the model sites for future dissemination to interested school districts.

In summary, the National Multilingual Assessment Program plans to provide school districts across the country with (1) an assessment model procedure, (2) guidelines for better pupil placement, and (3) socio-cultural information that, hopefully, will be of use to the various school districts in formulating teaching and curriculum strategies that are compatible with the motivational and learning styles of specific children.

THE MULTILINGUAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM

*Riverside Component

During the fiscal year 1970-71, the Riverside Component, under the direction of Dr. Alfredo Castañeda and Dr. Manuel Ramírez, was involved in extensive research in Colton and East Los Angeles, California, using test instruments assembled for the specific purpose of determining the unique learning and motivational styles of Mexican-American children. One of the primary goals was to use the results of the research to develop a number of products which could be used to show parents, teachers and members of regional assessment boards how to plan integrated school programs for Mexican-American children.

In its annual report to the Project Headquarters, the Riverside Component submitted samples of the forms and questionnaires used in the study, and a summary of the component's activity as of June 30, 1971.

In addition to the written products, the Riverside Component has also submitted four (4) preliminary video-tapes. These video-tapes are currently being field tested and revisions, where necessary, will be made. The video-tapes consist of a bicultural process in multicultural education. When the Riverside products are completed and finalized, the Multilingual Assessment Program will be working on a delivery and dissemination system for interested school districts.

MULTILINGUAL ASSESSMENT

Dr. Eduardo De Avila

Part I

SOME CAUTIONARY NOTES ON ATTEMPTING TO ADAPT CURRENT IQ TESTS FOR USE WITH MINORITY CHILDREN

Traditional tests of intelligence are inappropriate for the minority child. They are particularly inappropriate for those who come from non-English-speaking backgrounds. Such diverse groups as the popular press, the courts, civil rights organizations as well as state and federal agencies have all been involved in pointing to the failure of the testing industry to fully consider the cultural and linguistic differences of minority children when constructing, publishing and selling these tests.

Since the industry stands to gain increased revenues through the use of its materials in federally-supported programs, it has responded to this criticism by:

1) translating existing intelligence tests for non-English speaking children

2) adjusting norms for ethnic sub-groups

3) attempting to construct culture-free tests

There are distinct problems with each of these approaches.

With respect to translations, several problems arise. First, regional differences within a language make it difficult either to use a single translation or to compare across different translations. Thus while the word "tostone" refers to a quarter of a half a dollar for a Chicano child, for a Puerto Rican it refers to a squashed section of banana which has been fried. Second, the assumption that non-English speaking children speak one language exclusively lends to mono-lingual translations which, in many cases, are not related to the actual spoken language of the child which may be a combination of languages. This assumption leads to the further assumption that because a given language is the spoken language it is also the "written language." One finds many examples of tests written in Spanish being given to the Chicano children who may speak Spanish but who have had absolutely no prior instruction in reading Spanish. Third, another problem in translating tests is that words in one language have frequencies and potencies which generally cannot be compensated for in a direct translation to a second language. In other words, having a cognate is no guarantee that it is used in the second language with the same frequency as it is used in the first language. For example, the word "pet" is a common word in English yet, its Spanish cognate, "animal doméstico," is almost never used. A related problem in this context has to do with the fact that translating a word from one language to another can vastly alter its meaning. Thus, there are wide varieties of seemingly harmless English words which translate into Spanish swear words or "*palabras verdes*." This being the case, while translating a large egg into "*huevón*" may satisfy grammatical requirements and seem harmless to an Anglo translator, it nevertheless fails to consider that portion of the word's meaning which "does not translate.". Fourth, straight forward translations of existing tests represent a complete denial of cultural differences. In many cases this leads not only to unfair tests but to tests which require the child to break from his own cultural tradition. Thus, asking an Indian child "who discovered America" or asking a Moslem child to "draw a man" requires not only that the child break with cultural and religious tradition but also that he set himself apart from his own reference group.

The second major response of the testing industry to criticism with respect to the testing of minority children has been to establish regional and ethnic norms; in other words, simply to lower the criterion levels on the basis of ethnicity. This leads to expecting less from the brown, black or lower socioeconomic white students than from the middle class Anglo child. Awarding "bonus points" to minority children to compensate them for their "deprived backgrounds" is based on the same proposition as lowering norms. It is nevertheless a simpleminded solution to gratuitously award Chicano children extra points "because they speak a little Spanish."

These practices are all based on the common notion that ethnic norms should be established. Such practices are potentially dangerous because they would provide a basis for invidiously determined comparisons between different racial groups. The tendency would then be to assume that lower scores are ultimately indicative of lower potential and would not only continue the self-fulfilling prophecy of lower expectation for minorities but would also reinforce the genetic inferiority argument advanced by Jensen (1958), Shockley (1971) and others.

Third, there is a problem which cuts across these issues which in many cases may negate attempts to "clean up the tests." This problem involves validating a test of intelligence by correlating it with measures of achievement. The assumption is that the brighter the child, the greater his achievement. This appears reasonable enough, for certainly if a child has a high capacity, it must be related to some sort of achievement. With respect to the minority child, however, the relation between intelligence and achievement breaks down. It is a notorious fact that traditional curriculum has little relevance to the minority child. As such, any attempt to validate intelligence tests for these children by relating them to traditional curriculum is doomed to failure because a bright Chicano or Black child does not necessarily thrive on a curriculum designed for a mid-western Anglo population.

The fourth major difficulty in the testing of non-Anglo children is the false assumption that a test can be constructed which is independent of culture. Such a test is difficult if not impossible to construct. Consider that a culture must inevitably be defined by a particular set of referents. Intellectual activity must per force refer to the manipulation of these referents. As such, intellectual activity or any mental operation must involve the processing of information,that is, referents defining an environment or culture, which, by definition defines that particular culture. Aside from the problems inherent in depicting a culture with a referent, to ignore this problem would be to recapitulate the problems in Descartes's assumption that objectless (without a referent) is possible.

Over and beyond these problems, an analysis of the content and format of items used in a large number of traditional IQ tests reveals several highly interrelated types of items suggesting that the tests are measuring something other than that for which they were designed. Traditional IQ measures may therefore also be described as measures of socialization, productivity or level of aspiration, specific experience and endurance. Consider the following as only a few of the possible illustrations that can be mentioned.

Socialization: Items of this type draw primarily on the nature of one's socialization and are couched in such a way as to actually be measures of the child's family value system. The referent system is, of course, the dominant Anglo middle class. The confounding effects of this problem are particularly evident in the "comprehension" scale of the Weschler (WISC) where children are asked such questions as:

> "What is the thing to do if you lose one of your friend's toys?" or "What is the thing to do if a fellow much smaller than yourself starts a fight?"

Allowing for the stilted manner in which the question is phrased and assuming that the child knows all of the vocabulary, it still seems perfectly obvious that this type of question has little or nothing to do with a child's ability to process, manipulate or code information but, rather, with whether he has been socialized under the particular ethical system implied by the question.

Productivity or level of aspiration: Many tests confound what they hope to measure with a measure of productivity or level of aspiration. For example, in a large number of tests the child who produced the largest number of responses is rewarded, whereas, the child who (for whatever reason) produces fewer, is punished by receiving a lower score. Thus, in a Draw-A-Person, the child who produces the more elaborate figure receives the higher score. The problem here stems from an assumption that all subjects will produce as many responses as they are able, i.e., have the same level of aspiration. The effects of this assumption are particularly evident in timed tests, which constitute the majority of published tests. In these tests children are required to "work quickly and efficiently" without regard for the child who is simply not in a hurry nor particularly motivated to be so.

Another type of test which may be grouped under this category is the "endurance test." This particular type of test, for purposes of boosting statistical reliability, requires that the child answer a large number of questions which vary little in content. This problem is particularly evident in the group tests such as the Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test and the California Test Bureau Series.

Experience of Specific Learning: In tests which require subjects to answer questions of fact, there is an implicit assumption that the children taking the test will have had a more or less even chance of having been exposed to the fact being tested by the question. The spuriousness of this assumption is witnessed by any number of examples where children are asked questions of vocabulary. Granted a high positive correlation between intelligence and vocabulary, it is impossible, nevertheless, to determine whether a minority child has missed a test item because he lacks the capacity to understand a given word or because he simply has never been exposed to the word, e.g., "nitroglycerine" (in the WISC), "fire hydrant" (in the Betty Caldwell and Peabody) or "crevice" (in the Otis-Lennon).

The fundamental problem with most of the tests mentioned above and, indeed IQ tests in general, is that test publishers have failed to fully consider the problems associated with testing the minority child.

Moreover, it would seem that the attempts to deal with these problems by the above mentioned means will lead to limited successes for the reasons discussed. However, since the results of tests are used to determine the educational and, by extension economic and social future of school-age children, it, therefore, behooves test publishers to more fully consider the minority child's cultural background. A publisher who has condidered cultural background would know, for example, that the Chicano child is reluctant to guess when he doesn't know the answer to a question; that the Indian child is taught in the spirit of cooperation rather than competition and is reluctant to compete with his peers; that Black, Chicano and Indian children have little experience in developing test-taking strategies which would enhance their performance; and finally, that there are a significant number of children from all of these groups who view the schools as threatening, hostile and alien.

Part II

A NEOPIAGETIAN APPROACH TO ASSESSMENT OF INTELLIGENCE: REPORT OF PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

The problems described in the previous notes have stemmed from purely psychometric conceptualizations of intelligence. By now it should be clear that these conceptualizations fail to account for a large number of children. A contrasting approach to the static notion of IQ is found in the work of Piaget. For Piaget, intelligence is an ongoing evolving process characterized by distinct landmarks or stages which change both in quantitative and qualitative fashions as a function of the chronological age of the child. There are two features of this approach which make it particularly appropriate for assessment of minority children. First, according to the Piagetian view intelligence results in the interaction of assimilative and accomodative forces which provide for the subject's unique adaptation to the environment. As such, intelligence is seen as an adaptation which results from an interaction between the subject and his environment. Second, within this framework, changes in either the subject or the environment are reflected in the character of the subject's adaptation or level of intellectual adjustment. And, the qualitative character of the environment is simply treated as a temporal determinate of the child's stage or level of development. The primary agent of change within Piaget's framework is time. A child's level of adaptation must therefore be described in terms of its current level with the full understanding that, by definition, it will change with experience and the passage of time.

Recently a number of writers have suggested the applicability of a psychometric approach to the evaluation of Piagetian concepts (Wohwill, 1960). The compatibility between the psychometric and Piagetian approaches has been outlined by Elkind (1971). However, other than the work of Pinard & Laurendeau (1964) little has been done toward rigorously standardizing Piaget's cónstructs in a psychometrically sound battery of tests which samples across the broad range of development. Thus, for example, several researchers have attempted to standardize various conservation tasks, such as number (Dodwell, 1961, 1968; Harker, 1960). However, few have had any great success in establishing the ontogenic relation between Piaget's tasks in a psychometrically rigorous fashion.

In one such study Kaufman (1971) found low intercorrelations between a number of Piagetian tasks (mean r = .22). One possible explanation of the low overall correlations may have been due to the restricted performance variance since only 5 and 6 year old subjects were used. However, a more fundamental problem underlying these and other findings may stem from a failure to fully consider a basic difference between Piagetian and psychometric approaches.

In discussing Piagetian and psychometric approches Elkind (1971) has pointed to the genetic underpinnings of both positions. However, he is also clear in pointing out an essential difference. As such, genetic causality for Piaget is described by Elkind as "the non-random action of biochemical organizers and organization centers" as opposed to the view that intelligence results from a randomly determined set of experiential and genetic contingencies. Accordingly, the Piagetian position would argue that the determination of intelligence must be studied through the examination of intra-individual rather than through inter-individual approaches. Thus, intellectual development is characterized by the extent of internal versus external control of functioning at any given stage of development. Further differences between the two approaches have been described by Ginsberg and Opler (1969).

With the understanding that a distinction must be made between external versus internal control variables, the determination of a subject's intellectual capacity, at any given stage, becomes a two-step process. In the first step it becomes necessary to remove the effects of these external factors before actually testing the subject. The second step involves a determination of the extent of internal variables through the use of tasks which vary in the degree of control required to produce a correct response.

The use of a "controlled repertoire" provides for the control of external variables which can reflect diverse experential and stylistic differences and social background. Moreover, these findings suggest that when these factors are controlled for through pretraining, IQ ceases to be an adequate measure of intellectual development. Replication of this finding with low socioeconomic subjects would support this position. More important to the current research is the purpose of establishing the reliability and construct validity of the current measures with respect to the Piagetian development hypothesis.

A second major purpose of the present study was to examine the psychometric properties of several Piagetian tasks which vary according to the extent to which external variables are controlled. The question of reliability is crucial to any psychometric task, particularly where the information may be used to prescribe an (educational) environment for the subject. The third purpose to which this research is directed is the issue of group administration of Piagetian tasks. Educational situations usually require group testing because of the large number of subjects involved relative to the manpower available. However, Piagetian tasks have historically been individually administered. But, Dodwell (1961) and Harker (1960) have shown that the child's conception of number can be tested in a group setting while De Avila, et al. (1969) have measured several conservation tasks and spatial perspective problems in group situations. De Avila et al. (1969) found adequate reliabilities for the conservation of substance and egocentricity measures, suggesting the further possibility of using Piagetian-based group measures to evaluate the developmental-psychometric properties of tests which are applicable across a broad range of development. Similarly, Pascual-Leone (1969) has adopted a number of Piagetian tasks to group settings with a high degree of success.

More specifically, the purposes of the present research were:

1. To examine some of the relationships between the neo-Piagetian approach to developmental scaling and traditional approaches embodied in psychometric testing.

2. To test the applicability of the "controlled repertoire" concept as a con-

rather than differences in intellectual capacity or internal control of functioning. The application of a controlled repertoire in which subject differences are removed through pretraining procedures has been attempted by Kendler & Kendler (1966), Pascual-Leone & Smith (1969), Pascual-Leone (1970) and De Avila (1971).

In the study by Kendler & Kendler (1966) pilot testing indicated that differences existed between low and middle socio-economic groups of preschool students in ability to perform on a Hullian based apparatus. In order to correct for initial differences subjects were trained in making the subgoal responses separately until the correct response was made. Thus in a somewhat informal manner, control of the subject's repertoire was made.

Pascual-Leone (1970) used a variety of the Piagetian tasks and the Witkin et al. (1962) measures of field dependence-field independence in a factor analytic study of cognitive development and cognitive style. An essential feature to Pascual-Leone's procedures is that prior learning is used as a control variable rather than a dependent variable (see Pascual-Leone & Smith, 1969). Using prior learning as a control, Pascual-Leone (1969) found highly stable results across a number of Piagetian tasks. In discussing the failure of previous experiments to obtain high correlations among Piaget's tasks, Pascual-Leone (19) notes that these poor results may be due to (1) poor reliabilities caused by the small number of items per test, (2) failure in "relevant linguistic pretraining," and (3) failure to note that subjects do not always function at their "structural" or highest level of operativity.

In the study presented in the following pages a major purpose was to test the concept of "controlled repertoire" tasks with lower socioeconomic, minority children and to establish the relationship of "controlled repertoire" measures to conventional measures of intelligence for this class of subjects. In another study by De Avila (1971) using upper-middle class children, it was found that when the background of the subject was controlled, low correlations were found between a standardized intelligence test, (the Otis-Lennon) and a number of Piagetian tasks. Such results imply that the IQ measure may be highly related to the external variables such as educational trol in testing minority children.

3. To test the feasibility of using Piagetian measures to determine the developmental levels of minority children.

4. To examine the psychometric properties of the Draw-A-Man and Columbia Mental Maturity Scale for minority children.

5. To examine the relationship between developmental and I.Q. analysis procedures for minority children.

Instruments:

Six tests were given; the Cartoon Conservation Scales made up one measure. Conservation of the horizontality of water was measured through the Water Level Task. More direct Measures of information-processing capacity were the Figural Intersection Task and the Serial Task. Two standard measures of intelligence, the Columbia Mental Maturity Scale and the Draw-A-Man were also used. Each of these will be described below.

CARTOON CONSERVATION SCALES (CCS)

Several measures of Piaget's conservation tasks were assessed by means of the cartoon format developed by De Avila et al. (1969). In De Avila's procedure, three horizontal cartoons are presented in which two children are discussing the task. In the first frame an equality is established between two objects according to the dimension being tapped (i.e., number, length, substance, etc.). In the second frame an identity transformation is depicted and in the third frame the question of equality is asked. On the right side of the panel three possible answers are presented in a vertical order. The three alternatives which show the characters responding to the question are randomly ordered as to correctness in order to avoid position effects. Similarly, within a scale wording is altered from panel to panel in order to avoid the possible effects of acquiescence. Background on the conservation scales and an illustration of the dialogue from each scale are presented below.

De Avila (1967, 1969) and others have validated the CCS procedure in a variety of ways. In one study De Avila, Struthers & Randale (1969) tested thirty male and female first grade subjects using both groups and individual clinical methods. Statistically significant correlations were obtained across the two methods of assessment (r = 0.663). The scales also possessed a high degree of internal consistency as shown by an examination of factor analytic structure and reliability indices.

In its current form the CCS consisted of thirty cartoon panels. There were six examples of five tasks. The panels were presented to the subjects and the story line was read and elaborated upon in order to facilitate understanding of the question. The subjects' task was simply to mark the one (alternative) "that makes the story true."

Conservation of number is measured by showing blocks on a table. The dialogue is as follows: Frame One: "How many blocks are there?" Frame Two: "There are seven in each row. I'll put these in a bunch." Frame Three: "Are there fewer in the row than in the bunch?" There are three possible responses from which the child chooses his answer. Each alternative provides the child with written (i.e., text reads: "This side has more.") as well as pictorial cues (i.e., child points to one, another, or to both sets of blocks.) As in all cases the child simply picks his answer by putting an "X" on the picture "that makes the story true." This measure is similar to the format described by De Avila et al. (1969).

Conservation of substance is measured through items such as the cartoon where the following dialogue takes place. Frame One: "These two clay balls are the same size." "They both have the same amount of clay." Frame Two: "I'll roll one into a long hot dog shape." Frame Three: "Does one have more clay than the other one now?" In the response frames the responses are: (boy points to both) "They have the same amount," (boy points to hot dog) "The hot dog has more," (boy points to ball) "The ball has more."

Conservation of surface has been described by Piaget, Inhelder, and Szeminske (1948). Performance on the task requires that a subject recognize that no matter where a given number of objects are located on a surface, the amount of surface exposed remains the same. An illustration from the CCS uses a toy farm placed on a table. The dialogue in Frame One is: "See the little farm." "The cows are all over the table." In Frame Two the dialogue is: "The cows need to have more grass." "Put the buildings on the back of the table." In Frame Three the question is: "Is there more space on the table now?" The response order is: "There is less space now." "There is the same space." "There is more space now."

Conservation of weight is a familiar Piagetian task. It has been described by Smedslund (1961) and Elkind (1961). In the CCS one of the illustrations involves two children balancing on a seesaw. In the first frame, the two children are shown from a distance and one says "Hey, this is fun. We can go up and down." In the next frame the second child says "Let's see what happens when we stop." In the third frame, the two children are shown in a balanced horizontal position and one child asks, "What will happen if I lie down?" The three alternatives show the seesaw in several positions with the child who asked the question in a lying down position. It should be noted that the position of the child who is lying down is depicted in such a way as to indicate no change in the distance between himself and the fulcrum (seesaw center post) so as not to alter the leverage relationships.

Egocentricity was studied by De Avila, et al. (1969) using group measurement techniques similar to those used here. In this measure, the subject is asked to picture how a setting would look from a perspective other than the one from which he is looking. One illustration from the CCS uses the concept of taking a picture of a toy barn, silo, and tractor as follows: "See my new camera." "Take a picture of my farm." "I'll take the picture from over here," (view opposite that of person who "owns" farm). Frame Three: "What will the picture look like?" The response frames show the picture taker's viewpoint, the "owner's" viewpoint and a side view, each with the caption, "It will look like this."

WATER LEVEL TANK (WLT)

The conservation of the horizontality of water was described by Piaget and Inhelder (1948), and used by Smedslund (1963), Dodwell (1963), Rebiesky (1964), Beilin, Kagan & Rabinowitz (1966) and Pascual-Leone (1970). This task involves the subject being able to break perceptual set to recognize that no matter what angle a bottle placed on a flat horizontal surface is viewed from, the water level will always be parallel to the horizontal surface. A more complete description of the relative parameters of this type of task can be found in the semantic-pragmatic analysis of the relative strengths of objects in the field done by Pascual-Leone (1970).

In this study, a special version of Pascual-Leone's group tests by Pascual-Leone & De Avila (1972) was used. Subjects were presented with individual booklets which contained five horizontal or vertical two-dimensional bottles, eight two-dimensional-titled bottles and four three-dimensional bottles, two of which were also titled. The subject was asked to draw a line where the top of the water would be if the bottle were half full and then to place an "X" in the part that contained the water. Scoring was on the basis of degree of deviation from horizontal with the "X" for water location taken into consideration. Two points were given for lines within 10.5 degrees of horizontal and one point for lines within 45.5 degrees.

FIGURE INTERSECTIONS TEST (FIT)

The figural intersection test is a group administered paper-and-pencil test in which subjects are required to place a dot in the intersecting space of a varying number of geometrical figures. It was developed by Pascual-Leone and constitutes a figural analogue of Piaget's "Intersection of Classes" (1932). The type of overlapping figures utilized in this test were originally devised by Abelson (1911) for another purpose. In a series of unpublished studies, Pascual-Leone has shown the test to have a high degree of internal consistency (split-half reliability = .89) as well as being significantly related to tests of similar logical structure (Pascual-Leone & Smith, 1969). For example, it has shown a high correlation with the WLT described above. Combined with the WLT, in the present context, it was taken as an index of developmental level. This relationship has been previously found in a series of unpublished studies by Pascual-Leone & Parkinson (1969).

SERIAL TASK (ST)

The serial task (De Avila, 1971) is a short term memory task which is individually administered in two phases. First, subjects are preexposed to the stimulus materials used in a second testing phase. In the pre-exposure or pre-training phase, each subject is shown a series of 10 different 35mm. color slide transparencies of pictures depicting a donkey, house, airplane, etc. Subjects sit facing a screen situated on a wall six feet away. The 10 illustrations are presented by means of a Kodak 650 carrousel slide projector. To introduce the task, each subject is shown each figure and asked to give its name and color (i.e., "a yellow hat"). Following this initial introductory phase and after the subject was able to correctly identify each figure ten times when presented in rapid random succession, the testing phase was begun.

The test phase was conducted in a "free recall" manner (Adams, 1967) where, without any prior knowledge of the length of a list, the subject was asked to reproduce the list ignoring the order in which the individual items are presented. Subjects were shown a series of individually presented figures terminated by a blank slide, and asked to tell the experimenter what they saw. The exposure time for each individual slide was .750 msec. There was no requirement that the sequence of the presentation be maintained, or that the subject respond within a specified period of time, or produce a predetermined number of responses. The child was simply asked to reproduce what he saw using whatever labels were convenient.

There were seven sets of figures presented to each subject. These seven sets varied as to the number of stimuli within a series. There were 28 sets in all, 4 consisting of one figure, 4 consisting of two figures, 4 consisting of three figures to 4 consisting of seven figures. The number of figures presented within a series, as well as the individual figures, were randomly varied. Finally each illustration was presented no more than once in a series.

DRAW-A-MAN & COLUMBIA MENTAL MATURITY SCALE

In addition to the CCS, FIT, WLT and ST, two standard measures of intelligence, the Draw-A-Man (D-A-M) and the Columbia Mental Maturity Scale (CMMS, Burgemeister, 1954) were included in the test battery. These measures served to establish some indication of the relationship between measures of intelligence currently in use with minority children and the above described measures.

Procedure

The CCS, FIT, and WLT, testing was conducted in small groups. For the D-A-M, CMMS and ST testing was done individually by one of two bilingual-bicultural experimenters. Where necessary, instructions and testing were carried out in Spanish.

Subject

Subjects for the experiment were first through sixth graders at a central city school in a city of approximately 115,000 on the West Coast. Ethnic composition of the group was: 63.2% Mexican-American, 1.8% Black, 22.6% Caucasian, 12.2 other non-white. Testing was done during two consecutive months. Subject descriptions are provided in Table 1.

TABLE 1
SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

AGE					
6-7		8-9		10-11	
Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
10	10	32	20	15	15

Results

In order to establish the construct validity of the conservation measures included in the CCS, a principal components factor analysis with rotation was performed. Table 2 contains the factor loadings. A total of 50 percent of the variance in the matrix was accounted for by the solution. With the exception of two of the conservation of number items, the factors clearly represent the conservation measures included.

(See Table 2, at end of text)

Given the distinctness of the tasks, scale scores for each measure of conservation were obtained by simple summation. Table 3 shows the values of Cronbach's Alpha and the Kuder Richardson Formula 20's (KR-20) and homogeneity ratios (HR, see Scott, 1960) for each of these scales.

TABLE 3

RELIABILITIES FOR THE CONSERVATION SCALES

Method	Number	Surface	Substance	Ego	Weight	N
Cronbach Alpha	.732	.782	.821	.616	.798	106
KR20	.736	.786	.825	.622	.735	106
Homogeneity Ratio	.317	.378	.436	.212	.397	106

Since the Water Level Task contained three different situations involving the conservation of the horizontality of water, it, too, was factor-analyzed. The results of this factor analysis are shown in Table 4 [at end of text]. The first three factors had eigenvalues greater than one and accounted for a total of 65% of the variance in the matrix. Reliability data are shown in Table 5 for the subscales and the total scale obtained by a simple summative basis.

TABLE 5

RELIABILITIES FOR THE WATER LEVEL TASKS

Method	Vertical/ Horizontal	Tilted	Three-Dimensional	Total	N
Cronbach Alpha	.820	.902	.696	.627	108
Homogeneity Ratio	.634	.537	.367	.417	108

The reliabilities for the ST are shown in Table 6. The low reliabilities at the extreme low end of the scale are clearly due to the lack of variation of performance among subjects, as all subjects remembered the single picture.

TABLE 6

RELIABILITIES FOR THE SERIAL TASK

Method	Item One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Total Scale	N
Cronbach Alpha	-.019	.095	.491	.354	.546	.500	.804	.738	72
KR20	-.000	.095	.502	.368	.557	.512	.812	.729	72
Homogeneity Ratio	-.017	.027	.194	.121	.240	.205	.534	.122	72

The FIT yielded reliabilities similar to those of the ST as may be seen in Table 7 [at end of text]. However, little variation was found for the sets involving seven or eight figures.

As is evident from Table 7, all the scales of the FIT were highly reliable with the exception of those at the extreme ends. Also, almost identical results were found using different measures of reliability.

High reliabilities were also found for the CMMS (Cronbach Alpha = .869, KR20 = .887), and for the D-A-M (Cronbach Alpha = .846). The homogeneity ratio for the CMMS was .124 and .116 for the D-A-M. According to Scott (1960), the homogeneity ratio is a conservative index of the average correlation between test items. In practice ratios between .150 and .600 are acceptable (personal communication with William A. Scott, University of Colorado, 1967). The lower the ratio, the more complex and heterogeneous is the concept. Values below .150 suggest each item is a measure of a different concept with the test scale not measuring a unitary trait or concept. Thus, the homogeneity of internal consistency of both the D-A-M and CMMS would appear to be on the low end of the acceptable range. On the other hand, the somewhat depressed homogeneity of the ST (HR = .112) and FIT (HR = .199) would have been due to the low performance variability found at the extremes of the scales.

The intercorrelations of measures used in the study are shown in Table 8 [at end of text]. Of particular interest are the negative relationships found between age and I.Q. and the lack of relationship between the two I.Q. measures.

Further evidence of the inappropriateness of the psychometric I.Q. model was found in a factor analysis of the CMMS. Of the first 50 items on the test, only a few items were missed yielding a sample mean of 49.84 with a standard deviation of 0.48 for these items. From the lack of discrimination among subjects it appears that these items are worthless in this situation. The last 50 items were factor-analyzed by the principal components method and varimax rotated. The first factor accounted for 15% of the variance while 14 factors had eigenvalues greater than one. A varimax rotation was performed on the first five factors. Of the 50 items, 31 had loadings of .400 or better, 12 on the first factor, 5 on both the second and third factor, 4 on the fourth and 6 on the fifth factor. An examination of the items suggests no consistency of conceptual operation for a given factor.

Factor one, for example, contains functional analogies, class exclusion, number analogies, and size analogy items. The low communalities and the fact that the five factors accounted for only 34 percent of the total variance further suggests difficulty in interpretation of the instrument. (See Table 9, at end of text)

Since the different Conservation tasks measured by the CCS are assumed to be mastered at different ages, it was hypothesized that children could be grouped according to performance differences which would be reflected by statistically significant differences between them as well as by the age of the subjects within each group. Thus conservation of number and surface should be mastered by all subjects, substance by all but the youngest group and ego and weight only by the oldest subjects. In order to test this hypothesis, a procedure described by Tryon and Bailey (1970) as the OTYPE approach was used with a modification to allow for testing the structure of the types against hypothesized types. In the procedure used, T-scores were computed which reflected the number of items per conservation scale which a subject would have to attain to be reasonably sure of being able to perform the task (in this case 4 out of 6 was used) and also the number of scores (2 out of 6) for a chance response was computed (2 out of 6) as a T score. The expected types were established to reflect the order in which the concepts were supposed to be attained. In the case of the WLT, ST, and FIT, 10 T-score points were arbitrarily used between each of the types. This procedure resulted in three hypothesized types, which are shown as the first entry in Table 10 [at end of text]. In the computational procedure, all scores are first concerted to T-scores. The distance of each subject's scores from the means of each of the arbitrary types is then computed using the least-squares approach, and divided by the number of variables. The subject is assigned to the type from which the distance is the smallest provided that distance is not greater than a predetermined control (in this case 11 T-score points). Once this is accomplished for each subject, new means are generated and reiteration begins with recomputing distances. This continues until there are no changes in type membership.

The types which resulted appear to be quite homogeneous. Further, it should be noted that there were no reversals in trend with the order of increment being from OTYPE 1 to OTYPE 3. Mean *t*-tests of differences from the expected types are shown as the last entry in the table. Those tasks less subject to environment influences seemed to match the arbitrary types more closely than the conservation tasks.

Analysis of variance and independent *t*-test were computed for the final OTYPES for all variables included as well as for age. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 11 [at end of text]. Of the more environmentally-independent measures, only one comparison failed to find a difference. This failure to find a difference occurred between OTYPE 2 and OTYPE 3 on the ST. In attempting to determine why this resulted it was found that one of the experimenters had repeated the stimulus to some subjects when so asked. This practice could have resulted in higher scores for the younger subjects of OTYPE 2 due to practice effects.

Discussion

In general terms, the findings described above give support to the procedures utilized in the present approach. A possible criticism, however, stems from the limited sample size and a cautionary note must therefore be taken in generalizing these findings to other larger populations. Similarly, these results are limited by the fact that the subjects represent a rather limited sampling of the urban-rural continuum. With these general limitations in mind the following will consist of a discussion of some of the more pertinent findings.

The first and perhaps most immediate conclusion to be drawn from the present research concerns the nature, structure and possible inappropriateness of the psychometric I.Q. model as embodied in the DAM and CMMS. While high reliabilities were found for both of these tests, the low homogeneity ratios indicate that both tests are tapping a somewhat more amorphous concept than general intelligence. Second, since both the DAM and CMMS showed negative correlations with age, one would have to consider that at least the age norms, if not the entire tests, are inappropriate for the present sample. Third, the fact that the correlation between the two tests was negligible similarly calls into question the procedures of these two tests. Finally, since the factor analysis of the CMMS showed low overall communalities for the items and did not produce a factor is little support for the test. In fact, the basic conclusion which must be drawn from these findings is that both the CMMS and DAM should be used with great discretion.

In contract to these results, the CCS, WLT, FIT and ST results were more encouraging. The conservation scales (CCS) showed a high degree of internal consistency as indicated by the factor analysis structure as well as by the homogeneity and reliability indices. With the exception of the "surface" items, further support was provided for the CCS by the high correlation of the subscales with the other tasks. An examination of the age trends for the surface subscale showed to have the lowest overall correlation with age ($\underline{r} = 0.212$). Since it was expected that all of the subjects would be able to pass items of this type, the overall correlation was expected to be low due to restricted variance (i.e., all subjects were correct).

A similar finding was anticipated and found for the number subscale. However, the mean probability of a correct response for the number subscale items was .84, whereas it was .26 for the surface subscale. This finding is in sharp contrast with the anticipated result and raises questions as to the applicability of the cartoon format with this type of item as well as with Piaget's analysis of the task. Certainly, since the mean probability of a correct response was below chance (.33) there was a great tendency on the part of all subjects to "centrate" on misleading cue provided in the item. This finding is consistent with the phynomenological point of view. How many of us have moved furniture around to "make more room?"

The WLT showed high overall stability across all levels of analysis. The empirical factor structure matched the hypothesized structure. The reliability and homogeneity of the subscales and overall task were high and the test correlated well with the other Piagetian tasks. In summary the basic results replicate the findings obtained by Pascual-Leone (1970) in a number of unpublished studies.

The same basic results were found for the FIT and ST with the exception of items at the extremes of both tests. The basic results indicated high internal consistency as well as a high degree of relation to the other Piagetian-based tasks.

A major importance of the present research is that it provides support for the possibility of generating developmentally-based scales which are both consistent with Piagetian and psychometric theory. Moreover, the general approach embodied by the "controlled repertoire" procedure would indicate its applicability across diverse populations. A major concern of future research will be to elaborate on the implications of these findings. Furthermore, these results call into question the basic structure of traditional I.Q. measures. On the basis of these results, it would certainly seem appropriate for future research to take a more detailed look at a large number of traditional I.Q. instruments, particularly at their use with non-Anglo children.

TABLE 2
FACTOR ANALYSIS - CONSERVATION SCALES
FIVE FACTORS ROTATED
(Principal Component Analysis with Varimax Rotation)

	FACTORS					
VARIABLE	I	II	III	IV	V	h^2
Number	.627	.073	.069	-.086	.099	.420
Number	.695	.109	-.009	-.182	.294	.614
Number	.167	.068	.006	-.066	.757	.610
Number	.304	.053	.005	.059	.681	.562
Number	.211	.017	.224	.292	.430	.365
Number	.154	.131	-.002	.022	.714	.550
Surface	.130	.518	-.082	-.243	.099	.361
Surface	.212	.612	.192	.004	-.050	.458
Surface	-.170	.678	-.008	-.109	.133	.518
Surface	.073	.756	-.062	.106	-.061	.595
Surface	.116	.751	.179	.118	.043	.625
Surface	.028	.733	.208	.166	.167	.636
Substance	.461	.053	.297	.116	.100	.327
Substance	.638	-.032	.206	.114	.109	.475
Substance	.671	.179	.154	.034	.209	.551
Substance	.666	.021	.072	.279	.029	.528
Substance	.576	-.001	.328	.298	.117	.542
Substance	.697	.079	.235	.246	.107	.619
Ego	-.023	-.077	.117	.494	-.091	.273
Ego	.086	.283	.055	.436	.264	.350
Ego	.338	.071	-.329	.571	.055	.557
Ego	.214	-.111	.111	.485	.238	.362
Ego	.149	.050	-.038	.678	-.088	.493
Ego	-.176	.283	.248	.447	.318	.473
Weight	.169	-.085	.664	.148	.314	.597
Weight	.217	-.019	.582	.175	.161	.442
Weight	.097	.302	.540	.070	-.333	.509
Weight	.191	.282	.699	-.033	.016	.606
Weight	.488	.065	.543	.156	.074	.568
Weight	.212	.097	.778	-.162	-.152	.709

TABLE 4

PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS OF WATER LEVEL TASK
THREE FACTORS ROTATED
(Principal Component Analysis with Varimax Rotation)

	FACTORS			
	I	II	III	h^2
VARIABLE	LOADINGS			
Vertical/Horizontal 1	.216	-.839	.168	.779
V/H 2	.073	-.725	-.026	.531
V/H 3	.239	-.841	.099	.774
V/H 4	.141	-.892	-.023	.817
Tilted 1	.583	-.318	.375	.582
Tilted 2	.609	-.050	.102	.384
Tilted 3	.818	-.098	.037	.680
Tilted 4	.704	-.074	.438	.693
Tilted 5	.810	-.123	.089	.680
Tilted 6	.768	-.197	.223	.678
Tilted 7	.777	-.205	.162	.672
Tilted 8	.785	-.204	-.048	.660
3-D 1	.237	-.061	.594	.413
3-D 2	.358	-.135	.737	.690
3-D 3	-.110	.072	.846	.733
3-D 4	.599	-.331	.38[illegible]	.618

TABLE 7

RELIABILITIES FOR THE FIGURE INTERSECTION TASK

	Item									
Method	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Total	N
Cronbach Alpha	.354	.531	.727	.828	.724	.598	.482	.005	.910	91
KR20	.362	.557	.774	.826	.727	.588	.488	.039	.910	90
Homogeneity Ratio	.108	.249	.330	.375	.305	.200	.190	.002	.199	91

TABLE 8

INTER-CORRELATIONS OF MEASURES

.270 = p .05
.354 = p .01
.443 = p .001

	Age	Number	Surface	Substance	Ego	Weight	WLT	FIT	ST	D.A.M. MA	D.A.M. IQ	CMM MA
Age												
Number	.335											
Surface	.212	.181										
Substance	.580	.618	.237									
Ego	.389	.291	.282	.377								
Weight	.491	.437	.285	.563	.336							
WLT	.475	.282	.138	.457	.469	.564						
FIT	.352	.423	.226	.485	.499	.410	.515					
ST	.491	.336	.145	.391	.185	.403	.546	.267				
D.A.M. MA	.520	.336	.049	.334	.457	.309	.470	.333	.350			
D.A.M. IQ	-.400	-.001	-.164	-.205	.073	-.143	.007	-.025	-.098	.560		
CMM MA	.506	.446	.249	.549	.487	.477	.586	.723	.270	.400	-.107	
CMM IQ	-.260	.185	.066	.125	.200	.152	.277	.457	-.110	.001	.203	.677

TABLE 9
PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS OF COLUMBIA MATURITY SCALE
LAST 50 ITEMS
FIVE FACTORS ROTATED
(Principal Component Analysis With Varimax Rotation)

	FACTORS					
	I	II	III	IV	V	h^2
ITEM	LOADINGS					
51	.144	-.053	-.238	-.240	-.121	.152
52	.217	.368	-.116	.097	.001	.205
53	.068	.158	-.054	.574	-.100	.372
54	.227	.154	.072	.525	.047	.358
55	.219	.661	.146	.234	-.177	.592
56	-.054	.399	.659	.016	-.180	.629
57	.075	.118	.336	.121	-.241	.205
58	.104	-.068	.416	.205	-.012	.231
59	-.117	.622	.059	-.036	-.142	.426
60	.212	.134	.207	.403	-.038	.270
61	.017	.096	.378	-.053	-.189	.191
62	.014	.098	.676	-.134	-.014	.485
63	.131	.512	.327	-.105	-.194	.434
64	.271	.327	.143	.068	-.205	.247
65	.300	.138	.019	-.037	-.180	.143
66	-.055	.449	.138	.164	-.040	.252
67	.276	.392	.061	-.120	.084	.255
68	.106	.120	.291	-.286	-.152	.216
69	.226	-.488	.374	-.050	-.303	.524
70	.622	-.024	-.074	.194	-.048	.433
71	.270	.227	-.136	.068	-.398	.306
72	-.018	.284	.028	.030	-.494	.327
73	.422	.071	-.016	-.387	-.279	.412
74	.096	.271	.070	-.577	-.088	.429
75	.570	.167	.209	-.051	-.033	.400
76	.102	.006	.205	.085	-.284	.140
77	.616	-.031	.175	.178	-.194	.480
78	.124	-.250	.314	-.054	-.537	.468
79	.404	.040	.102	.058	-.272	.252
80	.162	.089	.122	-.095	-.346	.178
81	.300	.078	.071	-.367	.029	.237
82	.423	-.022	.278	.364	-.170	.418
83	-.087	.004	.184	-.176	-.558	.383
84	.472	.302	-.112	-.032	-.067	.332
85	.484	-.081	-.099	-.360	-.151	.403
86	.586	.129	.363	-.235	-.056	.550
87	.215	-.076	-.420	-.107	.096	.248
88	.517	.093	.313	-.237	-.122	.445
89	.541	.170	.235	.049	-.210	.423
90	.383	.088	-.143	-.232	-.039	.230

TABLE 9 CONTINUED

91	.288	-.184	-.171	-.115	-.306	.253
92	.336	-.022	.093	.031	-.100	.133
93	.363	.011	-.132	-.042	-.628	.545
94	.123	.189	.110	-.081	-.351	.193
95	.307	.174	-.180	-.048	-.333	.270
96	.324	-.004	.454	.164	-.160	.364
97	.003	.013	.088	.070	-.566	.334
98	.360	-.040	.108	-.023	-.333	.254
99	.498	-.044	.019	-.014	-.009	.250
100	.214	-.067	.004	.192	-.684	.555

TABLE 10

COMPARISON OF EXPECTED AND EMPIRICAL O-TYPES

O-TYPE 1

	VARIABLES							
	Number	Surface	Substance	Ego	Weight	WLT	ST	FIT
EXPECTED MEAN	48	63	39	55	45	40	40	40
MEAN	41.471	46.787	38.607	44.578	41.910	42.800	44.390	43.317
STANDARD DEVIATION	11.054	5.742	6.793	4.353	5.261	7.338	6.336	6.770
HOMOGENEITY	.757	.941	.916	.866	.950	.899	.923	.917
t	2.585*	12.310***	0.252	10.442***	2.560*	1.663	3.021**	2.135*

OVERALL HOMOGENEITY OF O-TYPE 1: .911

O-TYPE 2

	Number	Surface	Substance	Ego	Weight	WLT	ST	FIT
EXPECTED MEAN	48	63	48	55	48	50	50	50
MEAN	54.384	47.719	56.188	48.600	51.878	51.141	50.732	52.201
STANDARD DEVIATION	5.235	8.500	3.847	7.158	8.248	8.259	7.948	8.738
HOMOGENEITY	.951	.865	.974	.906	.872	.870	.875	.858
t	5.977***	8.807***	10.43***	4.38***	4.086***	.676	.451	1.234

OVERALL HOMOGENEITY OF O-TYPE 2: .897

TABLE 10 CONTINUED

O-TYPE 3

	Number	Surface	Substance	Ego	Weight	WLT	ST	FIT
EXPECTED MEAN	48	63	48	70	70	60	60	60
MEAN	56.461	62.955	57.789	65.689	61.461	59.418	53.585	59.808
STANDARD DEVIATION		10.370	3.154	9.263	5.751	7.545	6.788	8.027
HOMOGENEITY	1.000	.790	.982	.837	.940	.893	.911	.881
t	.00***	.013	9.313***	1.396	4.454**	.231	2.835*	.071

OVERALL HOMOGENEITY OF O-TYPE 3: .907

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* p .05
** p .01
*** p .001

TABLE 11

COMPARISON OF EMPIRICAL O-TYPES ON SELECTED VARIABLES

VARIABLE	EDF	WDF	F	O-TYPE 1 vs O-TYPE 2	O-TYPE 1 vs O-TYPE 3	O-TYPE 2 vs O-TYPE 3
Age	2	49	12.071***	3.279**	4.704***	2.294*
Number	2	49	18.254***	5.394***	4.751***	0,681
Surface	2	49	11.813***	1.099	4.715***	3.810***
Substance	2	49	70.587***	10.861***	9.074***	0.813
Ego	2	49	20.150***	1.736	6.077***	5.022***
Weight	2	49	19.105***	3.722***	6.129***	3.452**
Water Level Task	2	49	13.934***	3.377**	5.106***	2.633*
Serial Task	2	49	6.052**	2.787**	3.066**	0.985
F.I.T.	2	49	13.647***	3.537**	4.981***	2.379*
DF				41	26	31

* p .05
** p .01
*** p .001

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PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS TEACHERS MUST RECOGNIZE IN THE BICULTURAL CHILD

Dr. Uvaldo Palomares

This morning I will try to share my thoughts largely associated with the work I have done in trying to identify the psychological state of being of persons trying to live in two cultures simultaneously.

Let me start out with the issue of the marginal man and, in terms of women, Chicano women. I think it might have some applicability to the Puerto Rican one. One of the worst victims in this country who is trying to live in two cultures and being misunderstood by both is the woman. Puertorriqueña or chicana, whatever, particularly the Chicano woman is the one I am going to talk about. The area of sexual relationships is a very rough place. I once did some work with Chicano girls, teenagers, and we were dealing with the problems today in trying to live in both cultures. One little girl had tremendous insights because she was seeing the problem and making some decisions and not feeling good about the place she was in but at least deciding what she was going to do. The way she put it was very straight. She said, "Oh, I mean it is stupid, because like the gringo guys, like I dated a gringo guy, and the guy had to be nuts to go out with me. Why should he go out with me? He has to go home and meet my father, my mother and my brother and they lay a heavy trip on him. They treat him like he is some kind of a criminal who is going to rape me. The guy he is not for it. He doesn't go out with me because of sex, he goes out with others 'cause he knows it isn't fair with me, so he comes to my house and gets the third degree and then he takes me out and he is supposed to bring me back by. And you know that my mother really wanted my younger sister to go with us as a chaperone. She, so I've got a confession, I got home earlier if she wouldn't go with me and then promised to go to a certain place." I started thinking to myself, "Hey man, that's primitive. You know this is America. She is an exception, right?" Then another one, and then another one and one that was an exception to that. What I am saying is that, men, I know all of you guys talk about the movement, and the liberation, wear hair like mine, wear the clothes, the mod, and so on, but if she is your sister or your mother, or your girlfriend, zap--you know. These girls are having to live with that. And they date and they go out.

If you are sitting in a group therapy session and then the pressure comes from talk of sex, it is just sex but how come you are getting so uptight? Right away, the perception of the other mentality is neurotic, frigid, screwed up, a little kooky, she should be open. They have this thing even about Anglo women. It's like people ought to be able to be free and not gossip, but reveal feelings. I am not saying that you are going to gossip, they are not asking that, they are nice people, they just want to know what is going on. If you answer, "I am a Chicana, my culture says, 'zap--none of this, let's go to the next topic', they'll look at you and say, it is not the culture, baby, it's you, the person, and there is something kooky about you."

"Do you see what happens?" But you say, "There is nothing kooky about me, man, it's real, because the pressure isn't on you, but it is on me cause that's the existence I have."

You say it has nothing to do with culture, it's family pride - every time that I talk about the Chicano existence as being a legitimate reason for being and feeling there is going to be somebody like sitting there saying, "No, it is family. It is upbringing." That's all right, did I say it didn't? I say it does, I am simply saying that there is more pressure in the Chicano culture than in the Anglo culture, that's all. I didn't say it is mutually exclusive. The point that you are bringing out is the point that is always brought out whenever I give an example of culture, there is always somebody saying it isn't culture, it's this and this and this because that is what you understand.

Can you just for a while imagine that there is a Chicano existence you don't understand? Now, going on with the female thing, I believe that if a Chicano female grows up in Mexico there is a certain congruency to her existence. I have done groups in Mexico, in Chihuahua , and in Chihuahua if you are in a group and it gets to that issue, everybody knowingly says, red light, let's talk about other feelings. And everybody understands, if the issue comes up in this group and to a large extent I think that it is a very final thing, but it is a very critical one that hangs us up every time.

I used to try and explain angry or frustrated feelings to somebody in terms of me being Chicano. I would say, "The other day I read an article about how they are passing a bill in California that is going to say that it is all right to check out anybody's citizenship papers before he can work and that means that anybody can come into the Institute of Personal Effectiveness, walk through the hallway and look at me with my Chicano face and say, "Prove that you are a citizen." Then I have to go around scrounching as if I am a criminal to prove it to him. I think that the reason they are doing that to me is because I am a Chicano. There is always an Anglo who really loves me and is really trying to understand me, who is going to say, "That is a cover-up answer. Go deeper, what is it that they are really looking for? They are going to examine some Anglos, too. And so they are not just looking at you as a Chicano, there is something else. Why does it bother you so much?" They want you to explain in terms of Anglo values. They want me to explain in terms of my mother and father but for me to say to them, "They do it because I am a Chicano." That is not acceptable as an explanation for my being angry, but if I say, "They do it to me because I am an incompetent slob and I slouch behind my desk." That they understand. If they do it to me because I wear a chip on my shoulder and I am belligerent, that they can understand, but, if they do it to me because of the essence and existence of looking Chicano and being Chicano, that's the way they pinpoint me; then the gringo says, "No fair for you to be angry for that, give me a better explanation, one that I can understand." I think that's essentially what women have to cope with. It happens to all of us but for them it's harder.

I think this is the marginal existence and it applies to a little kid in a classroom. A Chicano kid who is trying to make it in his home, he is trying to adapt. And he encounters an existence in his home that is verified by his friends and himself. Everybody speaks Tex-Mex. The kids talk like that all the time, and that's all they know. Some of them speak almost all Spanish and a few words like crayola or chalk. The Anglo mentality sits here and tries to understand that. They look at the little child and he is mixing up the language. Now, in the Anglo mentality, and in the teacher mentality, and the learning mentality, it is that kids should either speak good English or good Spanish. In the Mexican of Mexico mentality, that kid should speak good Spanish or good English. But the point is that the child is something else, and what else is he? He is the TexMex mixture. It might have gotten started politically, or it might have gotten started economically. Now it is very psychological. It has for some reason developed bad feelings about people who speak like that. I know you are thinking that you've overcome that. I don't think that's bad. I will say this though: if I asked you to speak to the beauty of a child being able to mix two languages, your speech would be about thirty seconds. If I asked you to speak about the problems of a kid that speaks good English you could speak to me for three weeks. But write me a thesis paper on the beauty and the absolute necessity for the existence today of children being able to mix two languages.

Inside of me has been put such a negative feeling about it that whenever I think about it I think about it negatively. Okay, this position of us, of our existence, comes from us living in this country as Chicanos, as Puerto Ricans. The Puerto Rican that is living in Puerto Rico, and the Mexican living in Mexico finds it as difficult to understand our dilemma as do those of an Anglo mentality. The Mexican sometimes gets very angry with us. One time I made the critical mistake in Chihuahua of admitting that I was ashamed that one time I was denied something because I was a Mexican. A person said, "I won't do it because you are a Mexican." When that person said that I felt so ashamed I wished that I could just tear my whole brown skin off and be light. You know I really wanted that. I didn't want to be a Chicano, I didn't want to be a Mexican. I wanted to be a gringo. The Mexican people were furious at me, they said you are sick, to think that, that person denying you something because you were a Mexican, that person was sick, and you should have treated him like he was a sick person. It was their problem but all I could see was that it was my problem.

Okay--the marginal existence--the existence of living in two cultures; it puts all of you, it puts us, the Puerto Ricans who live in this country, it puts all of us in a position of being, of feeling less for and apologizing for existing. It puts us in search of other explanations for existing. Even when you say, "When that person denied me that because I was a Chicano and I got mad," they tried to say, "Explain it in other words." I don't want to belabor a point. You notice that I said that the sexual issue was important because these girls were Chicano and then someone said, "No, there are other explanations." Well many of us have been denied the right to feel and legitimately exist because we are Chicanos, and we've been so busy looking for other explanations we've lost the legitimacy of being Chicanos. We explained all of our existence in other definitions. None of them have anything to do with the Chicano life. I can explain my anger, and my hostility and my life, my joy all on the basis of psychological jargon, and out of my lips there seldom comes the explanation: because I am a Chicano.

An Anglo came up to me and said, "Valo, you are different. You are a good Chicano because everything you explain you explain in terms we can understand." And then finally one day I said, "Hey, wait a second; sometimes I am angry for having been treated as a Chicano and it ain't got anything to do with the explanations you are searching for. I just simply was rejected on the basis of my ethnicity, being called Chicano or the joy I feel comes from a special feeling for being a Chicano." That's really the position we find ourself in: unable to speak up defensively. There is an example which I used earlier that I would like to use again because I think it is the best example I can think of: What happens when a mind is not victimized like mine and like yours, Anglo or Chicano's to act this out as the one that perpetuates the crime or the victim that receives it.

One time there was a conference in San Diego and all of the big shots--Chicanos--were invited to the conference. They were sitting out there, like Who's Who: Aragon, Pena and others. Somebody had rigged the situation so that young people were talking to older experts. In front of the audience stood a young man from Santa Barbara. His hair was long and he had a little beard and his hand motions were *"del barrio"* and the way he came on: *Del modo que lo decia, hablaba como los batos en la calle,* both English and Spanish, *calón, muy derecho.* A standard question was asked him from the audience, "Would you please talk to the problem of the child that mixes the two languages? What can we do to help him resolve the problem?" In my mind I had my standard one-two punch. I was ready. Mixing a language is not a problem, it is a good thing. We are sick and tired of you people just putting us down by telling us that mixing is bad. You know the way the guy answered it completely blew my mind. He engraved it in my soul because I sat there openmouthed and I really learned the answer. He really listened. His style was as if that's where he was going, hadn't lost it all, he hadn't been warped. Most of us Chicanos around my age are born into an environment which is against Chicanos. We went through a state when we didn't want to be Chicanos, and now we practice it in a corner. I even practice my guitar and all the songs that I've forgotten and I go home because I need to. I've forgotten it and then I find out that it is techically irrelevant. This guy had never left it, right? You could tell first of all he was very young, so he said, "Ah, what do you do to take advantage of the creative interplay of two of the most beautiful languages in the world?" He said, *"Sí, sí, que hacemos, que hacemos, primeramente en español* and then in English, *y las hacen* mixed up a *las dos, y las hacen* practice *mucho y aprenden* el sound, *el sonido,* and the structure of *las* two languages *simultáneamente. Así es."* I watched all of us. John Aragón, he was sitting there, and I was sitting there, and Albar Peña was sitting there. He said, *"Pues sí, los niños en el barrio aprenden,* you know they learn and they mix it and they learn the sound and *la* structure *así es que cuando le quieres enseñar tu* pure English there is no problem because they already have the sound and the structure." That's where they spend their energy and time, not in building vocabulary but in building the basic fundamentals. So then they perceive vocabulary teaching and more complex expressions of the English language *y hacen la misma cosa en español. Básicamente el niño aprende lo que necesita que aprender y allí pone su tiempo. No en aprender el vocabulario, pero en aprender lo que deveras es difícil aprender y que nunca se enseña perfectamente después que el niño tiene cuatro años. Lo aprende de niño, entonces aprende el vocabulario para decir más y más, pero ya todo está basado en que el niño aprendió las dos lenguas simultáneamente.* But at the same time *las sabe hacer* mixed up, *sí está en el* east, *sabe cómo hablar como los batos allí, pero si va para el Río Grande como al* Valley, *el* Río Grande Valley, *el sabe de* Tex Mex. *El sabe cómo* send to Mexico City *porque alla habla pero español y la experiencia acerca del desarrollo humano la puede explicar en español y habla español bien, pero al mismo tiempo lo puedo mandar a* Austin *y conoce a un circo de majica con los chavalitos aquí en* Austin hace mixed up *las* two languages, *más importante de todo*, the most important thing is that Mike feels no shame in doing that. He feels perfectly comfortable. This is not just all right it is super all right.

Now think in terms of a way you would have answered that question. Think of where you would have come from and that's what I am talking about. We've been made to feel ashamed of things we shouldn't be ashamed of. We've been made to find explanations for our existence in terms that they understand, not in terms that we know, and so we've wound up in neither place. So why don't we stop trying to be there and here and be what we are and be proud of it, whatever that is. It doesn't mean because, *que me siento a todo dar porque soy Chicano que* that's where I am going to stay. I can broaden my concept of me *de ser una persona que tiene orgullo en poder hablar puro español. Me puedo comunicar en España or en México. Pero al mismo tiempo* I can do it in English, I can become proud of my existence in English. People ask me, "Do you have to make a choice? Is what you are trying to do, take the best of both worlds and use it to your advantage, like *si vas a la casa* and live with your mother and father and you want to be a good Chicano and take care of them and give them things that a Chicano boy does and then turn right around and be able to compete in the existence of the Anglo society and use that methodology? Do you want to give a dual existence and teach the child: leave him to cope in both existences?"

That's what has been asked of them. What I have discovered is that that's not really where I am. That's not where I want the kids to be psychologically. What I would like to see me do is develop a concept of myself that's together, where I see my identity as being legitimately in both cultures with varying degrees in between, where I am, and not to feel guilty for shifting in and out of them as long as I maintain a consistent directionality, a consistent value system. If I value people and care about them and try to operate and understand and listen to them and try *hablar allí y se la lleva suave con los batos pero luego se va para Nuevo Mexico pero también* he knows how to mix up the two languages, *si habla con su* sister *no hace* waste time *en* concept formation *de que* transferring it. *Sabe que la carnal entiende, ves, y nomás le tira* con everything. What do you do when a child has that gift? You nurture it, you nurture it, *le ayudas y el resultado es*, a person who speaks good sense and can even trip out on perfect English if he wishes. *Puede* and try and make them mixed up *y si va a hablar de la* school *y la* library *y de los* books *y además si va hablar con su hermana porque fue a visitar* he went to visit the house *y va hablar de* Washington *decirles* hey little sister linda *fui a* Washington, D.C. *y estaba haciendo* screen *un monton de* programs *para* Early Childhood Education *y luego dice pero se sintió mala mi mamá y como no se ha de sentir mala cuando que mia huelita no ha venido a verla.*

See what he is doing: things related to the home, to the stove, the concept of motherhood to all those concepts associated in the culture of the Spanish word for mother--he switches to Spanish with his sister, and that which is Anglo he switches to English because his sister can do it. The disadvantaged uno-lingual Spanish speaking person from Mexico, he struggles to have them understand the concept of motherhood that is in English as contrasted to Spanish. *Y si va a hablar como se dice, a mira fuimos a ver a una vista que se llama el* Godfather, *el padrino, pero no creas que es padrino como aquí en México. Es algo distinto.* You see but if that disadvantaged uno-lingual Spanish person could speak English and Spanish *le dijera - A, mira fui a ver al* Godfather *tu sabes cómo los* Italians *lo hubieras visto* right on - right there is the ability.

My corporation does training in Mexico, in Canada and the United States. We will be training in Mexico City, and we will be training here in Austin opening a new institute in Austin, and we are going to be holding an institute in Vancouver. There is one man that I'll send everywhere; no problems there. *Porque Miguel, si está* en Vancouver *puro* English he knows it, and he doesn't explain anything out of the Chicano existence, he tries to find other parallel explanations to foster his communication in a group related with the Canadians because they don't have the poop on the Chicano as you might with the Indians but he goes into it. Then, Mike I can to communicate my thoughts as directly and clearly as possible with them, then I will shift to pure and good English if I am speaking.

I think that Mrs. Lyndon Johnson was really handicapped when she first talked to America. Later on, she shifted out of her Texan dialect, because she said, "My ideas are important enough for me to try to speak like most people."

People used to lay a heavy trip on me saying, "Hey, I've noticed when you talk about your house, your accent gets worse; when you are talking about Washington, your accent disappears. You are a phony."

What I'd like to see us do is legitimize the existence of that child and that person, which is reality. That kid has been very smart in mixing it up. He is alive, he is existing, he is growing, he is learning. It is us who have been out of touch with reality when we try to make him what he isn't without first of all respecting what he is.

Let's try to broaden our understanding of what identity is. Imagine this whole building being the existence of a Chicano child today. I've used linguistics heavily as an explanation to you to understand what goes on, but linguistics is a small speck in that child's existence. The rest of him is his culture, his history, his background, his psychology, his spirit; linguistics is a very small part of it. A lot of us talk about linguistics as though it were the total child. Linguistic background is only an example of biculturalism.

Some people think that you learn a new language better by putting down another. Psychologically this is the worst way to teach anybody anything. Language is so tied to feelings that with this approach you might never really get good at English. A bad Indian makes a bad American, a good Indian makes a good American, a Chicano that makes himself feel bad and no good and is trying to be what he isn't and is a phony, is a lousy American and a phony Chicano. A Chicano that loves himself, feels good about who he is, will learn good English faster and can contribute to American soceity. Remember that tearing down something doesn't build something else up.

How can a Chicano child grow to love himself when people relate to him so negatively about what he is, about his language, about his style? They don't even know the whole business of how people from the Chicano culture are motivated and how they learn. How can that child learn to love himself and care for himself when he is surrounded by people that operate out of his style? Would it be better if he were taught by Chicano people alone? A lot of people fight for that. The reality of the world that a Chicano is going to have to live in is the reality of mixed people. Teachers of Chicanitos should understand that he is going to feel things, he is going to feel anger, he is going to feel joy, and he is going to explain it out of a context and out of an unexpected frame of reference. With that type of concept and that type of respect, Anglo teachers can, black teachers can, Puerto Rican teachers can, Cuban teachers can, I think, do a good job with Chicano kids. Right now, realistically speaking, with a few exceptions there aren't enough schools with enough Chicano teachers. There is a lot that teachers can do in terms of the relationship they have with the Chicano child, if they learn to respect who he is and where he is coming from. When an ethnic group member says it happened because I was black, it happened 'cause I am Chicano, it happened because I am a Puerto Rican, be very careful; in fact, I would say if you are an Anglo teacher make it a no-no; never say that's not right. Whether that kid is right or wrong, he believes it and that's his reality. The minute you deny him his right to explain things because of his ethnicity, he is going to defend it to all depths. He'll go underground if he has to but it will emerge later. The only way you can free him is by listening to his feelings, getting involved in what he says and not judging where it is coming from. Thats the critical thing.

We have done a lot of changing, but still got a long way to go. The way we show respect to children; do we listen to them, hear them? We still treat them as though they are lesser beings and often still don't hear what they say. If there is a choice between an adult and a kid, most of us always prefer to listen to an adult. Teachers come to me and say "Oh, I love children, I really hear them." I am talking about you, we video tape you and then we show you your video tape and you throw up at what you are doing. My fear is that two things may be happening within us. We have learned to talk about, categorize, discuss, compartmentalize problems, and then we compartmentalize it all away from us. We can explain away our fears, our loves and our prejudices against blacks, Chicanos, and others beautifully. However, behaviorally, we haven't changed because very few of us are willing to own up to the fact that we aren't good at something and we need to change. Bilingual education and bicultural education are that category and are being used now beautifully by those people who don't want to explain away everything and not really change anything.

REPORT ON THE BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM
TITLE VII, ESEA

Dr. Albar A. Peña

Historical Background

Historically, the American educational system has failed to properly educate our non-English-speaking youth. The primary reason for this has been the erroneous assumption on the part of our school system that every child entering school is English-speaking and therefore ready to receive instruction through and in that language; ergo, the sole medium of instruction is English. The result has been an alarming dropout rate for the non-English-speaking, as well as serious academic retardation for the majority of those who remain in school. Recently, however, there has been a widespread awakening to this plight and an attempt to rectify it. The clamor on the part of the non-English-speaking is a demand for a truly bilingual educational system that will properly address their educational needs.

Authorization

As a result of a series of Congressional hearings conducted in 1965, Congress gave official recognition to this plight and the need for such a program, and on January 2, 1967, Congress amended the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to include the Bilingual Education Program. Fifteen million dollars was authorized for fiscal year 1968; $30 million for FY '69; and $40 million for FY '70. Additional authorization include $80 million for FY '71; $100 million for FY '72, and $135 million for FY '73.

Program

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (P.L. 8910) was amended in 1967 (P.L. 90-247) to include Title VII, the Bilingual Education Program.

The Bilingual Education Program is designed to meet the special educational needs of children 3 to 18 years of age who have limited English-speaking ability and who come from environments where the dominant language is other than English. The concern is for children in this target group to profit from increased educational opportunity through the use of their mother tongue as a medium of instruction and to develop greater competence in English to become more proficient in the use of two languages which should result in a more broadly educated adult.

Definition: Bilingual education means the use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction. Both languages must be used as mediums of instruction for the same student population in a well organized program which encompasses part or all of the curriculum. A vital aspect of bilingual education is the study of the history and culture associated with the mother tongue. A complete bilingual/bicultural program develops and maintains the children's self-esteem and a legitimate pride in both cultures.

Administration: As with all ESEA programs, administration of the Bilingual Education Program was placed in the U. S. Office of Education's Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education--more specifically, in the Division of Bilingual Education.

Grants may be made to:

(1) A local educational agency or combination of such agencies, or (2) one or more local educational agencies applying jointly with an institution of higher education.

In order to qualify for assistance under Title VII, a school or schools must enroll a sufficiently high concentration of children of limited English-speaking ability who come from low-income families earning less than $3,000 per year, or receiving payments through a program of aid to families with dependent children under a State plan approved under Title IV of the Social Security Act.

Highest priority is given to areas within states having the greatest need for bilingual programs and to local educational agencies with the ability to provide needed services and activities.

Appropriations: From the $15,000,000 authorized for the first year of the program, $7.5 million was appropriated on October 11, 1968 for fiscal year

1969. With this money 76 bilingual education programs were funded in 21 states which represented six language areas (Spanish, French, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese and American Indian languages (i.e., Cherokee, Navajo, and Pomo). The majority of the programs focus on the special educational needs of Spanish-speaking students (Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans) who comprise the largest minority of those eligible to participate. Out of these 76 programs, 72 were refunded in FY '70.

In FY '70 an appropriation of $25 million was made by Congress but the program only received $21.25 million after the allocation was made. From this allocation, an additional 59 bilingual education programs were funded, making the combined total of 131 projects now operating in 29 States and representing eight languages (Spanish, French, Portuguese, Chinese (Cantonese), Russian, American Indian languages, Eskimo dialects and Chamorro).

In an effort to meet some of the more critical needs in bilingual education, special programs in the areas of curriculum development, program evaluation, staff development and teacher training and community involvement were also initiated during this fiscal year. These programs consist of: (1) the Dissemination Center for Bilingual Education; this program has been given the task of focusing its activities on all aspects of bilingual education by systematically identifying, assessing and refining existing materials such as instructional materials and equipment, community and parental involvement, staff development, instructional techniques and strategies, as well as evaluation designs for broad dissemination; (2) The Spanish Curriculum Core Program will be responsible for developing a curriculum core designed for all Spanish-speaking students (Mexican American, Puerto Rican and Cuban) and will be supplemented by Regional Curricula Centers which will provide socio-cultural materials to augment and complement materials being developed; (3) The Multilingual Assessment Program has as its task, development of relevant testing instruments for our non-English-speaking population based on the learning styles of these children as well as preparing an annotated list of standardized tests that may be applicable for this population, and (4) The Materials Acquisition Project has collected materials, i.e., filmstrips, textbooks, etc., from abroad that may be used as supplementary materials in the Title VII classroom. Special grants were also made to develop audio-visual instructional materials and an educational television program to supplement bilingual education in the classroom (Spanish-English).

For fiscal year 1971, an appropriation of $25 million for bilingual education was made by the Congress. From this allocation, 35 programs were initiated and 129 were continued, making the combined total of 164 operating in 29 States, Puerto Rico and Guam and representing eight languages (Eskimo dialects and Chamorro were added).

In fiscal 1972, of the $35 million appropriated by the Congress, 49 additional projects were funded and 164 were continued bringing the total to date to 213. The Virgin Islands and Trust Territories (Saipan) were added to the list of areas receiving assistance under Title VII.

Program Considerations

Although limited but conclusive evidence attesting to the success of bilingual education is available, the ways in which the educational agency meets the responsibility of providing sound bilingual education programs, and exploits this resource, depends on the attitude and conscience of the community in trying to meet its needs. Therefore, the Office of Education, by providing funds to implement bilingual education programs throughout the nation, is investigating the following hypothesis:

1. By providing instruction in the mother tongue as well as in English for part or all of the curriculum, children in bilingual education programs will progress better in school with minimal grade retentions and reach grade-level achievement in the subjects of the curriculum.

2. Through bilingual education, non-English-speaking children will become more proficient in both English and their native language.

3. A bilingual education program will enable the children to develop

a true understanding and respect for their mother tongue and associated culture, leading to a more positive self-image, social and personal adjustment, and a truly bilingual-bicultural person.

II. Objectives

A. The Office of Education, in administering funds for Title VII, ESEA, will support programs providing bilingual education programs designed to meet the special education needs of children 3 to 18 years of age whose dominant language is other than English and who come from low-income families.

1. To insure that children in bilingual education programs become more proficient in the use of two languages, develop greater competence in English and their native language, and profit from increased educational opportunity so that no loss of the common learnings occur, by providing adequate curricula, materials, and innovative teaching techniques.

2. To integrate the study of the history and culture associated with a student's mother tongue in the overall design of bilingual education programs.

3. To create a truly bilingual-bicultural setting by insuring that both non-English and English-speaking children can participate and allow a maximum of interaction and cross-culturization.

4. To insure that the bilingual education programs currently funded prepare, develop or adapt proper curricula, materials and equipment relevant to the needs of non-English-speaking children.

5. To insure that a core of well qualified teachers are recruited and/or trained who are fluent in two languages; knowledgeable in the psychology or learning, second language learning and teaching; competent in the teaching of subject matter in two languages, and sensitive to the needs of students involved.

6. To insure that teachers are adequately prepared and trained in the areas mentioned above, pre-service and inservice training programs for all school personnel involved in the bilingual education programs must be developed and maintained.

7. To insure the development of and effective utilization of evaluation instruments and techniques relevant to the objectives of bilingual education, through continuous project monitoring and technical assistance and the implementation of the accountability concept.

8. To insure that members of the community to be served by bilingual education programs are actively involved in the planning, implementation and evaluation of the program.

9. To insure the development of systematic dissemination designs which will insure continued support for bilingual education and will contribute to the sharing of information, materials, techniques, and procedures pertaining to bilingual education.

III. Characteristics of Bilingual Education Programs

See manual.

It must be reemphasized that under Title VII, the Bilingual Education Program was established to provide for exemplary pilot or demonstration projects in bilingual and bicultural education in a wide variety of settings. It cannot, therefore, meet the total need for bilingual education at this time. These efforts must be considered as plausible solutions to the many ills long prevalent in our present educational system which has not met the educational needs of students whose dominant language is not English. It is not heralded as a panacea. Other federal resources such as Title I, Title III, and EPDA and Title IV must be brought into play along with Title VII to present a coordinated effort in meeting the needs of these children and provide a more meaningful impact.

Along with this reemphasis, it must also be realized that if bilingual-bicultural education is to be the goal,one must insure that truly integrated programs, enabling both non-English and English-speaking children to participate, are being implemented. Otherwise, we'll only manage to further segregate our children and deny the other cultural group the awareness and respect of the culture which our non-English-speaking children represent.

RAP SESSION FOR ADMINISTRATORS OF BILINGAUL PROGRAMS

Victor Cruz-Aedo

Conferences bring together participants from various backgrounds with different special interests. Each is concerned primarily with his own immediate activities and each perceives like situations from his own point of view. However the Rap Sessions for Administrators of Bilingual Programs brought together participants, quite surprisingly, who presented views which deviated from the programatic viewpoint and focused more on national, state and local coordination and cooperation among the bilingual-bicultural programs.

These are some of the questions raised by the leader and participants of the rap session with a sense of urgency:

.What is being done to promote intercity program coordination and cooperation? (Texas: Valley Chapter, San Antonio)
.What is being done to promote interstate program coordination and cooperation?
.What is being done to promote intrastate program coordination and cooperation.
.Are the State's program directors meeting to assist each other?
.Have monitoring systems been developed that will result in program improvement and assist the U.S. Office of Education in knowing which projects did not fully implement the program as had been planned and agreed upon during the negotiations? (Texas: Monitoring Instrument)
.What should be done in planning for future bilingual-bicultural conferences on a national level?
.What are the teacher-training institutions doing to prepare teachers equipped with bilingual-bicultural competencies?
.What other activities need to be implemented that will bring about cohesiveness in bilingual and bicultural programs?

Effective coordination and cooperation with other states in bilingual education is difficult because we know so little about the programs. A concrete example of this is the sparse and inaccurate knowledge available about on-going programs. The difficulty in coordination is compounded further by the fact that bilingual education means many things to many people. Some of the most common misconceptions are:

- Bilingual education is equated with English as a Second Language and the latter not treated as a program component.
- Bilingual education means teaching Spanish per se.
- The immediate translation of everything is bilingual education rather than treating each language separately.
- Teaching Spanish reading to non-Spanish speakers prematurely from foreign text books has been a process employed by some. The nature of language was not clear in the minds of the teachers and coordinators. This approach is the reversal of teaching English reading to Spanish dominant children which has been done for many decades.

Bilingual Education in Texas is a program developed to meet the individual needs of each child and is characterized by the following components:

- The basic concepts initiating the child into the school environment are taught in the language he brings from home.
- Language development is provided in the child's dominant language.
- Language development is provided in the child's second language.
- Subject matter and concepts are taught in child's dominant language.
- Subject matter and concepts are taught in the second language of the child.
- Specific attention is given to develop in the child a positive identity with his cultural heritage, self-assurance, and confidence.

From the first enrollment of a linguistically different child, definite attention should be given to his home language. This in no way lessens the importance of English. Teachers must learn to carry both languages along together most effectively. Principals and teachers in the public schools of Texas ought to know that innovation and imagination on their part is very much a part in all bilingual programs whether funded through Title VII, ESEA, state, or local educational authorities.

The pressure to allocate certain time blocks in the traditional program in each content area certainly leaves little time to experiment. It is proper to make it clear that these pressures are local pressures exercised by local school administrators and not the Texas Education Agency.

Programs in bilingual education that follow the Statewide Design for Bilingual Education allow the use of Spanish until the child's readiness for English is established. The readiness of a child for a second language varies from a few weeks to several months. It is up to the local school district to determine when to initiate second language instruction. Again it should be emphasized that teachers must learn to carry both languages along together most effectively. In fact, the area in which we need the most imaginative experimentation is that of finding ways to make the learning of a second language, in a greater degree, an incidental outcome of other activities.

Basically, our concern is to develop channels of communication between educational leaders within the United States and foreign countries in order to achieve a common goal, better understanding and an exchange of ideas. Better educational leadership will result in each participating state by incorporating bilingual and bicultural education as a vital and integral part of the total educational program. Bilingual programs operated in isolation from the total school program fail to make an impact that is meaningful to the child.

If and when these activities are implemented, a breakdown in the provincialism that has characterized many segments of the educational process and life in the past will occur. The amusing attitudes and contemptuous superiority assumed by many citizens when traveling or visiting other states will be overcome. It is hoped that eventually all teachers will emphasize the freedom of other people to be different.

It is time to recognize that to accept a child, teachers and administrators must accept his values, standards, languages, and culture as part of him. This does not imply that teachers and administrators accept the child's values and other factors as their own. People are free to change values only when they are free to live them and not be placed in a position to defend them.

A number of ideas which could be implemented cooperatively by the different states are as follows:

- .Develop school-to-school exchange projects between cities.
- .Department of Education may be able to allocate funds for this purpose. If not, could not proposals be developed that would tap federal funds for this worthy activity?
- .Projects might initiate a one-, two- or three-year exchange program of teachers, pupils, curriculum materials, and ideas with other schools for the improvement of cooperating schools.
- .Collect and make available materials and resources to aid in solving specific educational problems. Educators should look at the American schools in Latin America for assistance in the area of bilingual and bicultural education. This type of program is not new in those countries. There is much evidence that this procedure might help solve many educational problems concerned with the teaching-learning process of the non-English-speaking child in the United States.
- .Develop liason between State Departments of Education which show an interest in bilingual and bicultural education. A continuing exchange of ideas would result.
- .Make bilingual and bicultural education a part of teacher education programs in two ways:
    - -Explore the possibility of mutually recognizing certified teachers that move from one state to another and from Latin American countries.

- Explore the possibility of an exchange of teachers between the United States and Mexico or other Spanish-speaking country.
- Explore the possibility of sending teachers to Mexico or other Spanish-speaking countries to study for a full school year. Their input, upon their return, into the preservice and inservice teacher training programs would result positively in many ways.

. Initiate university-to-university relations to improve teacher preparation for bilingual and bicultural programs.

. Work with local citizen groups in special projects concerning bilingual and bicultural education. Many local businesses and cultural groups have activities related to these programs. One of these organizations is the Circulo Cultural Hispanico, Sodiedad Conservadora Del Idioma Espanol, in San Antonio, Texas. Highly qualified members can assist as well as college professors.

. Promote more and better instruction in modern foreign languages, especially as this relates to the development of a truly bilingual and bicultural child. The American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese has taken steps to endorse bilingual education.

. Make bilingual and bicultural education an integral part of the total curriculum and not an isolated special program which so many view as remediation attempts to enable the child to function in his second language.

. Make bilingual and bicultural education an integral part of curriculum materials developed in each cooperating State Department of Education.

- This could involve working with staffs writing state bulletins especially in social studies, modern foreign languages, English-as-a-Second Language, and Spanish-as-a-Second Language.

- .Attention should be given to text books in order to aid publishers in developing improved materials relating to bilingual and bicultural education or in correcting slanted statements.
- .Cooperation with developers of testing instruments and publishers of textbooks to produce materials that provide true "reading readiness" programs for speakers of languages other than English.
- .Recruit English-speaking teachers who have had some training in Spanish or who possess genuine concern for the linguistically different child and assign them to team-teaching situations.

Why is state leadership suggested? Our nation has experienced a tremendous growth. Great strides have taken place in technology as it relates to communications and transportation. States have become next-door neighbors. Our lives are affected by people and events which once would have been remote.

Our public schools must implement relevant programs that will help our children live in such a nation. Our State Departments of Education must be ready to provide leadership in:

- .Encouraging schools to make provisions for bilingual and bicultural education.
- .Developing curriculum.
- .Strengthening teacher understanding and competencies through better teacher-training programs, preservice and in-service education workshops.

A number of benefits are inherent in bilingual and bicultural education. It can have a positive effect on curriculum, on teaching materials, methods and techniques, on institutional relationships, and, most importantly, on attitudes and values. The accruements of bilingual and bicultural education are numerous. These are but a few:

- .Bilingual and bicultural education can help people in the United States to understand better not only those from foreign countries but also those in our society who are culturally different.

.Better intercultural relations can help communities in all fifty states to strengthen their civic and moral fiber.

.An understanding of the diverse conditions under which the peoples of our states live can contribute to deeper understanding of the differences among people; a first step in respecting and valuing such differences.

.This type of education can assist teachers and administrators to develop a clearer understanding of economic power and its influence upon every walk of life.

.Bilingual and bicultural education can provide an opportunity for local schools, colleges, universities, and State Departments of Education to work cooperatively. Such cooperation develops channels of communication that will strengthen education at all levels.

.And most important of all, bilingual and bicultural education can assist students and teachers to develop values for life in a multicultural world. It can help equip those who learn with the knowledge and direction required to make sense of the world in which we live.

LEGISLATION AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The Honorable Carlos Truán

It is certainly a great honor for me to be here at this National Conference on Bilingual Education. It is true that I have a campaign being waged back home, but sometimes there are things such as this that demand our presence. I believe that I have gathered ideas here. My association with so many of you, especially the people last night and today at the different workshops, has given me that extra push to go back home and try that much harder. I appreciate the many ideas and the associations that I have made here thus far.

I would like to talk to you about education, if I may. I don't mean to sound presumptuous in the field of education because I don't have any credentials except a Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration. Joe Bernal is the educator in our group and we look to him for leadership in the legislature. However, I am on the Public Education Committee of the House and have been on that committee for four years. Every piece of legislation having to do with education goes through that committee, so even though I don't have the credentials I do have the experience of having taken part in the hearings affecting education. There are some things I would like to share with you--preliminary remarks to the legislation on bilingual education.

First, and foremost, in Texas I can say without any reservation that if the teachers would lobby in Austin, and if the Texas State Teachers Association, which is one of the most powerful lobbies in Austin, were to commit itself to the bills that affect the education of children as they have to the bills that affect the teachers' salaries and retirement plan, we would have a much better system of education in Texas. I am being very constructive in that sense even though I am being critical. Sometimes a group becomes so big it can become too impersonal.

I couldn't help but notice at the time I was having my hearing on bilingual education that there were certain individuals that could have helped me a great deal. Fortunately, I was able to work out a compromise with the then Speaker of the House; but he did not live up to his commitment. I lived up to mine. Of course we know what has happened to him. Since the Abilene trial he has been convicted of bribery. The point is that the children of Texas suffer.

I want to tell you a little history of the legislation and ask you to assist us. Those of you who were at the banquet last night heard me say some of these things, but repetition sometimes is important to add emphasis. We are going to have to ask the governor of the state, the Honorable Preston Smith, to include bilingual education in the next special call session which, in all likelihood, will be held in June of this year. The State Board of Education has already indicated through their endorsement that they want to see bilingual education included. These gentlemen are the elected officials throughout the State of Texas that comprise what we know here in Texas as the State Board of Education. The Bilingual Education Bill under consideration would provide, for the first time, state funds for bilingual education teacher training institutes, bilingual education textbooks, and salaries for additional income for those teachers that work during summer months to prepare bilingual education materials.

In the last session of the house, we had to suspend the rules at the end of the session to bring up the Bilingual Education Bill. We had only 17 votes against the rule to suspend. I didn't ask for a file record vote because I wanted to get the bill to the senater as fast as possible. You can tell by that vote that we had almost complete unity in regard to the support for bilingual education.

Many representatives came to me and said, "Look, I don't know too much about bilingual education but I have constituents back home that have talked to me in that field." Somebody did their homework. There was a gentleman from Fort Worth, for example, who said that people from PASP in Fort Worth had talked to him and even though he didn't know much about bilingualism he was going to support it.

Let's not ever underestimate a potential. We are all voters in our respective communities. We have relatives, friends, and we have our colleagues. Let's do our homework. Let's not lose by default--by allowing only one man or two to speak for all of the teachers and all of the parents of Texas when it comes to legislation in Austin. Thank God we still have a democratic form of government. I can assure you the legislators are still subject to convincing, if I may use that expression, by the constituents. Each one of us should go back home and impress upon our elected officials, especially with correspondence to the governor and the lieutenant governor, the need for bilingual education. Send a letter to the new Speaker of the House. We have a new Speaker and we need to impress upon him the need for bilingual education. It makes our work that much easier when we go to negotiate for a bill.

Bear in mind that there are so many bills that have to be taken up and so many representatives and senators that want to have their legislation passed that it is a matter of what gets priority --top priority. I can assure you that because of the 80 per cent dropout rate that we have among the Mexican Americans in Texas, bilingual education ought to take and occupy a very high priority in Texas. This conference attests to the fact of the importance of bilingualism in Texas.

I have had the opportunity to reminisce a little bit regarding the effectiveness of the State of Texas in meeting its obligation to the largest minority group in Texas in the area of bilingualism. I've come up with certain conclusions. For the first time, we should be able to recognize that a person that has a talent for teaching in two languages has the worth of two people and ought to be paid accordingly. Also, we need to assure, or reassure, those who are not bilingual that they need not be afraid because they will have the opportunity to become bilingual later on. I think this is one of the major problems in some communities. There is concern in some areas as to whether this is going to be a program to segregate or to continue to segregate the Mexican American children. We ought to make it perfectly clear that we cannot continue with the same system of education that has not met the needs of our children because it has resulted in a high dropout rate of 80 percent. I think the alternative here is a solution. Certainly it is not the whole solution, and those of you with better credentials in the field of education will agree with me, but it is a beginning.

We need to reassure our school boards that the legislation that Senator Bernal and I co-authored four years ago allowed bilingual education in Texas on a local option. It is still going to be on a local option but I can assure you that when there are state funds available in addition to the $3,000,000 or so dollars from the federal government, there will be many school boards willing to participate. Then there are going to be those who, for one reason or another, do not particularly like bilingual education but will see an opportunity to get involved. That's alright. We always have a lot of Johnny-come-lately's and I am sure that bilingual education will not be the exception. The idea is to get the program going. If we sell our school board and if they sell associations of school boards as well, we can have more effective lobbying in Austin by the Association of School Boards.

We should get different groups working for us. For example, the PTA group had a whole newsletter on bilingual education. I know most of you here from Texas must have received the newsletter. Did you take the time to write a letter of thanks? If you didn't, it is never too late. Impress upon them that you support bilingual education. Go back to your local PTA chapter and pass some resolutions. Send these to the governor to let him know that you care.

Unfortunately, we have a situation in Austin which I guess is similar to that of other states. Everybody belongs to a particular lobby group. We need to learn the politics involved. I don't think we are going to be faced with the same problems that we were faced with last year. As Senator Bernal mentioned to you, the fact that I have been associated with a group that became known as the "Dirty Thirty", caused some of us to be punished, but very unfairly, because we wanted a full investigation of corruption in government.

By golly, we had a good trial in Abilene and I think there are more things to come. I would hope that with the new leadership in the House and the fact that we had so little opposition in the House and in the Senate, we may be able to get the Governor to agree to include bilingual education in his call to the Legislature. We may be able to run with this Bill and get additional funding.

There is another bill that we had introduced that did not go to a committee, but I don't think we are going to get a chance to introduce it in the special session. We are going to concentrate on this bill -- the bill that would provide state funds for teacher salaries, training institutes, and textbooks. This bill has to do with what has popularly been known as the "Power Amendment." This bill has in it a section that reads in so many words, "if a school district has a majority enrollment of minority groups students, bilingual education 'shall be implemented' not 'may be implemented.'" The 'shall' and the 'may' are very important here because one is optional and one is mandatory. We haven't gotten to the stage yet where we can say "shall be," though I think that slowly but surely we are getting there. If we are able to fund bilingual education on the state level, and couple this with the available federal funds, we could then go to the school boards with Phase III. We could get the school boards to come up with additional local dollars because they have an obligation to provide equal educational opportunities for all students as well as to reduce the 80 per cent dropout rate. School boards can't pass the buck to the state or to the federal government by saying that the 80 per cent dropout rate is only due to the fact that there are no federal funds available.

We had some things in that bill regarding the grouping of students according to intelligence test scores. From the very beginning, many of our children have been stamped as mentally retarded. Every teacher follows the same rule: a student is supposed to be retarded, so he is placed in Sequence Four, or whatever we call the track where the not-so-bright students are placed. As a result, children are stamped with a label that follows them for the rest of the school year and sometimes for the rest of their school life. You as teachers and administrators know this better than I. We are going to continue to push this bill at the next regular session which will be held next year. I am telling you this now so that we can start making plans. Go back home and ask your candidates where they stand on the issues and then if they get elected, look and see what they do. Thank you very much for the opportunity to have been here.

~

Invocation

Rev. Daniel L. Villanueva

~

BANQUET ADDRESS

The Honorable Lloyd Bentsen

It is a privilege for me to be here to meet with distinguished members of a most honorable profession. I speak to you as one who shares your concern with the future of bilingual education in this country.

It seems to me that it is especially fitting that your meetings are being held in the LBJ Library.

Lyndon B. Johnson -- who started his career as a teacher -- became the President who did more to advance the cause of education than any of his predecessors.

He was committed to the belief that ...

> "regardless of a family's financial condition, education should be available to every child in the United States -- as much education as he could absorb."

Under his administration, 60 education bills were passed -- in clear recognition of government's responsibility and society's stake in the education of the young.

Thanks to his efforts, we have the Elementary and Secondary Education Act -- which I happen to recall he signed in April, 1965, just a little over seven years ago, in the one-room schoolhouse near Stonewall, Texas, where his education had begun.

My education, too, began in Texas.

I am continuing it now in Washington, D.C., as a member of the United States Senate -- where I am learning more every day about the strength and diversity and problems of this great nation. And, of course, I come back to my home territory for frequent refresher courses.

So you might say I am a fulltime student.

I am not here to tell you professional educators how to do your job or how to solve your problems.

When I was younger, I might have tried to do that -- because all things were simpler when we were young. But as I grow older, and as my education advances, I find more problems than solutions, more questions than answers.

In the old elementary school days, we answered the questions in the textbook and then turned to the set of answers in the back of the book to see if we were right. But now there are more difficult questions, more complex problems -- and no answers in the back of the book.

That can be a frightening thought.

But on the heels of it comes an exhilarating idea:

We are in the process of writing a new book -- not just a set of new answers to old questions.

This meeting here may produce an important chapter -- a chapter on approaches to bilingual and bicultural education -- and I'd like to think of myself as a collaborator in that endeavor.

Vast and complex as the problems are, I am optimistic about our prospects because I sense that at last -- after a period of drifting and floundering -- the American people are in a problem-solving mood. And they expect, and demand, solutions from their leaders.

The pressure is on -- and I welcome it.

We all perform better under pressure. It may force us to produce results beyond our most impossible dreams.

My optimism increases when I sense a mood of cooperation. That mood is exemplified here in this national conference on bilingual education, where there is a sharing of experience and expertise, and a willingness to learn from the experiences of others.

We approach the problem from different viewpoints -- you as educators, I as legislator -- but we are equally responsible for producing results.

What are the results we want to produce?

Nothing less than equal educational opportunity for every child in America.

What are we doing about it?

The answer is: not enough.

Speaking from the legislative point of view in spite of the mass of education legislation enacted in the sixties, our progress report for the 1970's, so far, must be "Unsatisfactory."

When the Bilingual Educational Act was passed in 1968, it included authorization of 400 million dollars over a six year period -- not an extravagant sum to spend on 5 million children in need of bilingual education.

Still, you can quickly envision a host of useful programs that can be set in motion with $400 million.

But there is a catch.

Authorizing and appropriating are two different things.

The authorization for the first year was $15 million, the appropriation was exactly zero!

In the next year, 1969, the appropriation was only $7-1/2 million -- only half of the amount that was authorized for the first year -- and not enough to fund adequate programs for even 1% of the children we were supposed to be helping.

To this day, total appropriations, under Title VII, amount to only 22% of the authorized $400 million.

The scheduled authorization for 1973 is $135 million, the Administration budget calls for an appropriation of less than 1/3 of that amount. And we are so far behind now that even if Congress voted to appropriate the entire $135 million this year, the average appropriation for 5-1/2 years would still be less than 56%.

In my schooldays I learned that 56% is not a passing mark.

I also learned an adage that is as valid now as it was then:

LOST TIME IS NEVER FOUND AGAIN.

We have lost time with 5 million children who are, in a sense, handicapped because they were born to non-English-speaking parents in a country where English is the official language, the dominant language.

We have no Berlin Wall dividing our country. But the language barrier can be just as detrimental to the free flow of ideas and information. Freedom of speech is of dubious value if no one can understand what you have to say; and freedom of movement loses some of its charm if you have to travel with an interpreter.

If I may inject a personal note here, I have in my Washington office, as a member of my staff, a most competent, able and also charming young lady who skillfully operates various office machines. She is deaf. At first, her co-workers had to go around with a pad and a pencil to communicate with her, until finally one day she began to teach other staff members the sign language. I am proud to say that they have learned this second language well and this new means of communication has brought about not only a better working relationship but a better understanding and warm friendship as well. So even the majority benefits from a second language.

In the United States, five million children speak English poorly or not at all. But English is the language of success.

How can a young man expect to succeed in a country whose language is strange to him? Without knowledge of that language, the doors of opportunity are closed to him.

He lacks knowledge of the culture and the customs of the majority, and he lacks the means to interpret his own culture and customs to that majority.

And so they grow up side by side, strangers in a land they both call home.

Children of the majority are handicapped, too, by their ignorance of the rich variety of cultures that make up this nation. In school, they learn more about the culture of the ancient Egyptians than they learn about the whole aggregate of non-English-speaking people living today, within our own borders.

In most of our city schools, we have French taught as a second language to elementary school children who will have to cross the ocean before they encounter anyone who speaks it as a native language. They could walk across the park, or across the street, and meet people who speak Spanish as a native language. But here is a large group of Americans who are unknown to them; even their names are unfamiliar.

This is true even in the Southwest, where most of our Spanish-speaking Americans live.

Last year, a school superintendent was testifying in a U.S. District Court about a proposed bilingual instructional program; the judge interrupted his testimony saying:

"Sir, we are not very familiar with Spanish names. Would you be kind enough to spell these for the reporter as you go along?"

So he obligingly spelled such difficult names as "Chaves," "Ybarra," "Robles" -- and his own, which were unfamiliar to the court reporter.

My point is -- that reporter is handicapped, whether she realizes it or not. Her technical skills may be superb, but her linguistic background is inadequate for the world she lives and works in.

Nevertheless, she enters the labor market without being penalized for her lack of language skill. Spanish is seldom a prerequisite to employment; English usually is.

For the adult American, the greatest handicap is one that precludes employment, since employment is essential to self-respect, if not for survival. A man who is unemployed or judged unemployable loses not only the means of supporting himself and his family, but the opportunity to serve his fellowman and earn a place for himself in the community.

We in Congress are deeply concerned over the present rate of unemployment, its economic effects, and its effect on the spirit of this country.

Its causes are complex, but we can trace some of its roots to the educational system.

No one can deny the statistics:

Unemployment is highest among minority groups. This is not entirely a matter of deliberate discrimination. We have, in fact, made considerable progress toward eliminating racial and ethnic bias in employment.

The correlative statistics indicate that unemployment is highest among those with the least education.

If we look into the backgrounds of the unemployed, we find the recurrent themes of poverty, underachievement, academic failure, and dropout.

The first and dominant theme is poverty -- and poverty wears three faces. We usually speak of economic poverty, and we think of the typical home as one where the father is unemployed or underemployed -- or where there is no father, and the mother bears the dual burden of support and child-rearing.

But there is a second poverty, which can be described as cultural poverty. It can happen to children of the wealthy or middle-class -- and we have seen examples in the runaways who "escaped" a life of affluence with relatives with whom they could not relate. But it usually happens in homes where the parents are themselves victims of a limited educational background, and are incapable of fulfilling their teaching role in the early years of their children -- whether through lack of inner resources, or lack of time and energy to spend with their families, imparting their knowledge and the values of their culture. By the time the children enter kindergarten, they are already behind.

Worst of all is the poverty of spirit that deprives a child of hope, aspirations for a better life, self-confidence and self-esteem.

The inevitable result of this background is underachievement in school. This is chronic and cumulative. As one boy explained it, "The longer you go to school, the dumber you get." We see it in terms of IQ. With each passing year, he falls farther behind the national average -- because he started with a handicap and never catches up. He is usually over-age for his grade level and his performance is substandard.

Another recurrent theme in the life histories of the unemployed is a high rate of absenteeism in their school attendance record. When there is poverty, there is sickness and disease. There is also a lack of structure and motivation. And the children of the poor have more family responsibilities. This is especially true in the Mexican-American culture, where family ties and family loyalties form a strong link.

Then we have the dropout theme. As failure piles on failure, the student gives up and drops out -- possibly for short periods at first, then permanently.

After dropout follows the familiar pattern of seeking employment and not finding it; or finding it and learning the bitter meaning of the phrase, "Last hired, first fired."

That pattern repeats itself across this country, in rural areas and crowded cities. It is as true in the black ghettoes of Washington, D.C. as it is in the barrios and colonias.

In both cases, language is a barrier to success.

The poor black child speaks English, but it is non-standard English -- and his vocabulary, like his life experience, is limited. His speech -- and by implication, his family background and culture -- are downgraded in school, where "standard English" is mandatory. He is exposed to learning materials that bear no relationship to his experience. He cannot identify with them, and he loses interest. Dr. José Cárdenas, Superintendent of the Edgewood

School District of San Antonio, describes this as "incompatibility between the characteristics of the learner and the characteristics of the instructional program," and insists that unless the incompatibilities are eliminated, the child will never achieve his best performance.

At home and on the streets, he continues to speak his "first language." It is the language of survival -- but not the language of success.

He cannot believe that school can teach him what he needs to know to survive. Its vocabulary is that of a world he has never known.

The same is true of the Mexican American child, or the Puerto Rican, or Indian, or Oriental.

That child has my sympathy. I can imagine his hopelessness and bewilderment and rebelliousness.

His parents have my sympathy. While they work to clothe and feed and educate him, they are torn between the desire for him to achieve what they could not, and fear that he will grow away from them and be lost in an alien culture.

His teachers have my sympathy. Try as they will to compensate for his handicap, they find him falling a little farther behind each year. Compensatory education is costly and not too successful. It is too much like raising a child on a substandard diet and then, when he is a puny, sickly adult, trying to turn him into a robust, athletic type by massive injections of vitamins. We cannot help sympathizing with the teachers who are frustrated in their efforts at salvaging something from the mistakes of the past -- and those teachers who are themselves handicapped by a limited knowledge of the nondominant culture.

But sympathy is not enough.

There is no substitute for achievement -- for the child, the parents, or the teachers.

In the absence of achievement, hope is lost, dignity is lost, self-respect is lost -- and an encyclopedia full of excuses cannot mitigate the bitterness of that loss -- which is, in the end, society's loss.

Let us have done with excuses and face the challenge as it is thrown to us.

We cannot talk about bilingual education without considering the quality of all education -- and why one school succeeds where another one fails. There are, for example, many successful men in this room who learned English as a second language -- and yet all of them completed their schooling long before the Bilingual Education Act. These men can tell you "the difference quality makes."

The difference is not made by providing more school buses -- although buses may well be needed. But we all know it's as easy to drop off a bus as to drop out of a classroom.

The difference is not made by buying more audiovisual equipment -- when the child has not learned to use the audiovisual equipment he was born with.

The difference is to be found in leadership competence, and acceptance of individual responsibility for our own share in meeting the challenge.

Ortega y Gassett said, "I am myself and what is around me; and if I do not save it, it shall not save me."

That is our challenge, as I see it.

If the home life has not prepared the child for success in school, let's stop blaming the home. Let's strengthen it.

We know the importance of the learning that takes place in the preschool years. We tried Headstart -- and found that, although it helped, it was too little and too late. What are we doing about the pre-Headstart years?

If parents aren't equipped to teach their children what they need to know -- about themselves, their heritage, and the world they are going to live in -- let's stop blaming the parents. Let's educate them.

Education, as we all know, is a lifetime proposition. While educating the child, we cannot afford to neglect the adults who will have the greatest influence on his life.

In Flint, Michigan, there is a community school whose doors are always open to everyone; where lights burn from early morning to late at night; where every classroom is full, and shops and labs are always busy. In that neighborhood, everyone goes to school -- children, young employed adults, fathers, mothers, and grandparents. Going to school is the thing to do -- and the school is the hub of community life.

We need more experiments like this. Parents who feel at home in the school their children attend will have more confidence in its ability to meet the children's needs, and less fear that they will lose their children to that outside world that is strange to them.

If we don't have the textbooks and materials to meet the needs of bilingual education, then we will have to produce them -- immediately. There is no shortage of materials that cannot be overcome by a dedicated, innovative teacher.

If children come to school without goals, we must give them goals -- and convince them that these goals are within their grasp.

If children come to school with feelings of inferiority, then let's give them a sense of pride in achievement. Up to a point, we can stimulate pride in a child through teaching him of his history and cultural heritage. But unless he himself achieves something he can respect, that pride will not sustain him.

If there is -- as few people will deny -- too little contact between minority children and the majority culture, why don't we try a cultural exchange program within our own borders -- at a series of summer camps, with a truly bilingual/bicultural program?

The time is ripe for bold plans and imaginative approaches.

Five years have passed since the adoption of the Bilingual Education Act. There have been abuses -- and the Congress has amended the Act this year to prevent such abuses. Now the framework is there to build upon.

Five years have passed since Lyndon Johnson said: "Until we reach the point where all American youngsters, particularly those from deprived backgrounds, have access to a good education, we are courting a national calamity."

We are still far short of that point, and time is running out. Public patience is wearing thin.

The finger is pointed at you as educators -- at me and my fellow legislators -- at all the bureaucrats in Washington and in all the 50 states. And when the people ask "What have you done?", we must be able to say: "We've done our best."

And if our best is not good enough, we must be ready to step aside and yield to someone who can do better.

When the last excuse has been made -- and rejected -- we will come face to face with the enemies that can destroy us.

Those enemies are Ignorance...Timidity... Lethargy...Jealousy...Pride...Intrenched Bureaucracy... and Fear. Fear of failure, fear of ridicule, fear of lost power or prestige.

You know their names as well as I. And you know they can defeat us.

I do not believe they will.

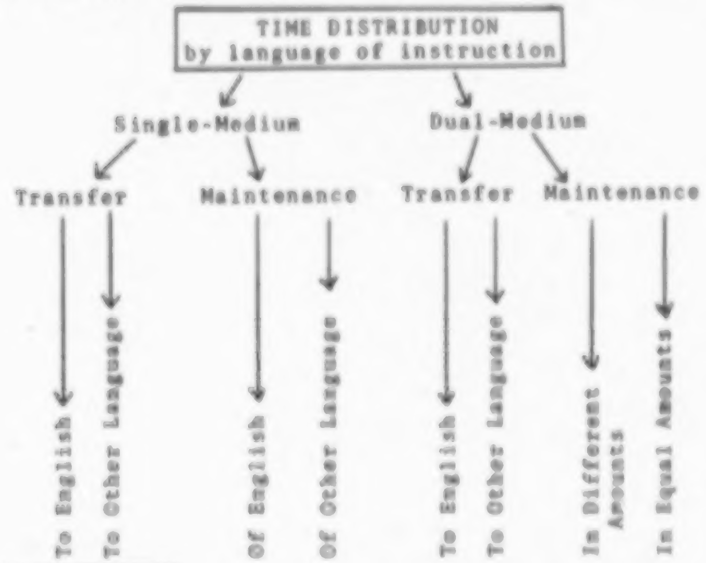
I remain optimistic . . . as I told you at the outset. I believe in the common sense of the people, and the strength of the "inward vision" that the poet-philosopher George Santayana spoke of when he wrote:

"It is not wisdom to be only wise,
And on the inward vision close the eyes,
But it is wisdom to believe the heart.
Columbus found a world, and had no chart..."

GENERAL DESCRIPTIONS OF BILINGUAL PROGRAMS THAT MEET STUDENTS' NEEDS

Curtis Harvey

A look at bilingual education programs in operation across the nation presents the reviewer with a tremendous variety of program organization and implementation. At first glance, there would appear to be very little or nothing at all which would identify them as members of a basic instructional curriculum with common strategies. Several educators have made attempts to single out the common elements which are characteristic of bilingual programs in general. For example, Dr. Theodore Andersson, in his publication, "Bilingual Schooling in the United States,"[1] presents the following schematic developed by William F. Mackey.[2]


TIME DISTRIBUTION
by language of instruction
Single-Medium
Dual-Medium
Transfer
Maintenance
Transfer
Maintenance
To English
To Other Language
Of English
Of Other Language
To English
To Other Language
In Different Amounts
In Equal Amounts

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[1] Andersson, Dr. Theodore, and Mildred Boyer, "Bilingual Schooling in the United States," 1970.

[2] Mackey, William F., "A Typology of Bilingual Education," 1969.

Dr. A. Bruce Gaarder, in an article entitled "Organization of the Bilingual School"[3] used the following chart developed by H. H. Stern.[4]

- One-Way School: one group learning languages
  - Mother tongue added
    - Equal time and treatment
    - Unequal time and treatment
  - Second tongue added
    - Equal time and treatment
    - Unequal time and treatment
- Two-Way School: two groups, each learning in its own and the other's language
  - Segregated classes
    - Equal time and treatment
    - Unequal time and treatment
  - Mixed classes
    - Equal time and treatment
    - Unequal time and treatment

As you can readily see from these two examples, efforts of this nature have a tendency to become rather confusing and are relatively meaningless to the average teacher or administrator who is not trained in the area of bilingual education and who is interested in trying to organize and implement a local program. Therefore, for the purposes of this discussion, let us attempt a different approach.

Basic to every educational program are the needs of the students for which it is developed. One of the major criticisms of today's "standardized curriculum" is the fact that it does not provide for individual variations among students. This has been substantiated time and time again as schools have failed to provide so many of our young people with the skills and knowledge needed to become positive contributors in today's society. The recognition of this failure has been accepted to some degree over the past years and many attempts have been made to develop programs which would alleviate the "problems." However, a close observation of many of these programs leaves a person with the feeling that they are beautifully developed on paper, but initiated with little or no foreknowledge of the children they serve, their characteristics and their specific needs as individuals. Here again, we have pre-conceived programs trying to mold the children into their structure and limitations, rather than making an attempt to change the curriculum of the program to provide for the needs of the children.

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[3] Gaarder, Dr. A. Bruce, "Organization of the Bilingual School," 1967.

[4] Stern, H. H., "Foreign Languages in Primary Education: The Teaching of Foreign or Second Language to Younger Children," 1962.

Saville and Troike[5] suggest a number of factors outside the direct control of the school which influence first and second language development. These factors may well be expanded to not only be concerned with children's language but also to relate to their total intellectual development as individuals in preparation for entrance into the school environment.

-The nature of the child's preschool environment.

-The personality traits of parents and their attitudes. (attitudes towards the community, their work, the school, etc.)

-Degree of association with adults.

-Child-rearing practices in the home.

-Number of siblings, and ordinal rank among them.

-The attitude of the parents toward their own speech community and toward the second language group.

At this point, however, it might be well to mention the danger of identifying bilingual education as a remedial program.

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[5] Saville, Muriel R. and Rudolph C. Troike, "A Handbook of Bilingual Education," 1971.

By thinking of bilingual education as a remediation for children who have not been able to function successfully in school and are, for one reason or another, not achieving at grade level according to our standards, we have allowed ourselves to be led into a trap by two common misconceptions: 1) The present curriculum is appropriate for every child and does not need changing, and 2) all children should be expected to progress at the same rate, regardless of individual differences, background, environment, culture, etc. In fact, we are associating bilingual education with failure from the very beginning which immediately creates a negative atmosphere.

Another erroneous concept that many people have been led to believe is the idea that bilingual education places an additional burden on an already crowded curriculum by increasing the number of subjects to be taught or by duplicating instruction, i.e. teaching a concept or lesson in one language and then repeating it in the second language. Obviously, neither of these approaches is practical or desirable; nor are they necessary. Bilingual education simply takes the already existing curriculum of a program and, through the use of the language the children speak and manipulate with facility, initiates instruction. This allows the children to focus their entire attention on the task of learning, continuing to expand their conceptual development without distraction and limitations caused by an unfamiliar language.

In 1967, Dr. A. Bruce Gaarder[6] listed four major reasons for providing instruction in the first language. Still quite appropriate today, they are:

1) to aviod or lessen scholastic retardation in children whose mother tongue is not the principal school language;

2) to strengthen the bonds between home and school;

3) to aviod the alienation from family and linguistic community that is commonly the price of rejection of one's mother tongue and of complete assimilation into the dominant linguistic group, and

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[6] Gaarder, Dr. A. Bruce, "Organization of the Bilingual School," 1967.

4) to develop a strong literacy in the mother tongue in order to make it a strong asset in the adult's life.

Dr. Gaarder[7] also states the rationale for providing instruction in a second language which is not only applicable to non-English- speaking children, but also very appropriate for English dominant children. They are:

1) to engage the child's capacity for natural, unconscious language learning;

2) to aviod the problems of method aptitude, etc., which beset the usual teaching of second languages;

3) to make the second language as means to an end rather than an end in itself;

4) to increase second language experience without crowding the curriculum;

5) plus other well-known reasons such as to teach the national (dominant group) language, to provide a lengua franca or a world status language, for cultural enrichment, and economic gain.

Although the fifth point appears rather general it has taken on new and greater importance with today's focus on cultural awareness and identity in our society.

There are a number of factors which must be taken into consideration which play an important part in the structure and the effectiveness of a bilingual program. They will be determined by the characteristics of the children and the community to be served by the program and the availability of personnel for staffing. Considerable consideration must be given to the time allotment and distribution for each of the two languages. How each language will be used and the treatment that each will be given must be determined early in the planning process. It is important to know whether the language which is to be added to the previously existing system is the first or will be the second language for the children to participate in the program. The linguistic capabilities of the teachers must be known. Are they all bilingual or will there be monolingual teachers involved also?

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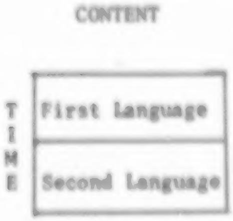
[7] Ibid.

The organizational pattern of a bilingual education program may vary, depending on the factors identified above and others. But a series of structures or "models"[8] have been developed which represent the basic generalizations that can be made about these patterns.

MODEL I



In a program of this type instruction is equally divided between the children's first language and their second language. Typically, a school operating under this program will have instruction in the first language in the morning and instruction in the second language in the afternoon. Sometimes, specific content areas are selected for instruction in the first language and other areas are selected for instruction in the second language. In other instances the instruction in the second language is simply an extension of the content areas presented in the first language.

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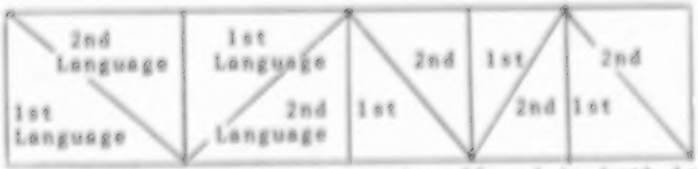
[8] Southeastern Education Laboratory, "Razon de Ser of the Bilingual School: A Handbook for Teachers," Atlanta, Georgia.

MODEL II

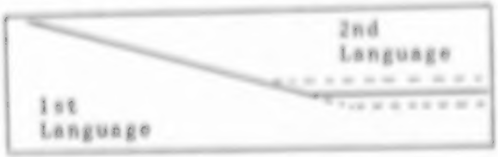
CONTENT



Again, the instruction is offered in both languages in a program of this nature. Approximately the same amount of time is given to each language, but any time-block may contain the two languages used in an integrated or blended manner or they may be maintained separately as depicted. Team teaching is a technique which adapts itself easily to this type of program. In both Model I and Model II, the children must have an equal command of both languages.

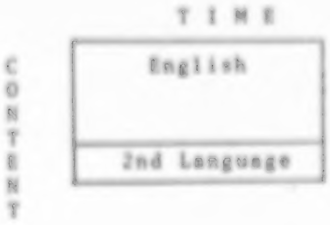
MODEL III

TIME



In a program of this design, instruction is initiated totally in the children's first language and the second language is introduced gradually. As mastery is obtained in the second language, less and less time is devoted to instruction in the first language until it is reduced to a "maintenance" level. In this case the first language may be presented as a subject itself in the curriculum, or any other content area could be selected to continue instruction in the first language. Basically, this type of program is known as transitional, providing instruction in the first language until the children are sufficiently fluent to operate successfully in the second language.

MODEL IV



For the last model the program is predominantly in English. The second language is either taught as a subject itself or it is used for instruction in another selected content area. This is the basic design for most foreign language programs and does not actually qualify as bilingual instruction in the full meaning of the concept.

As was indicated earlier in this dicussion, the major focal point of any school program, bilingual or otherwise, centers around the specific needs of the children who are to be involved. If it does not meet these needs, or if the needs themselves have not been identified, there is no way for us as educators to expect or even hope for positive results. It is stated in the Statewide Design for Bilingual Education[9] in Texas that: "The primary goal of Bilingual Education is successful achievement by the student of the goals of the educational process, using two languages, developing proficiency in both..." To achieve this broad goal, the Statewide Design further states that the local school districts will: "1. Provide an environment conducive to learning. 2) Develop an effective program that will give each student an opportunity to make progress toward these goals. 3) Appraise the student's level of development of language, concepts, and experience (exercising care to avoid testing the student in his second language until he has sufficient control of the language so that his true verbal abilities can be measured), and 4) Have available sufficient numbers of personnel qualified to conduct the program."

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[9] "A Statewide Design for Bilingual Education," Texas Education Agency.

More specifically, the Statewide Design identifies the following components as characteristic of a bilingual program that is developed to meet the individual needs of each child:

I. The basic concepts initiating the child into the school environment are taught in the language he brings from home.

Orientation to the classroom code of behavior and patterns of social inter-action with his peers are developed by drawing from the child's resource of experiences and concepts and language which he has already learned in his home environment.

II. Language development is provided in the child's dominant language.

The sequential development of the four language skills, i.e., listening, speaking, reading, and writing, is continued in the language for which the child has already learned the sound system, structure, and vocabulary. This is exactly the same approach which has been used in the past. The only difference is the use of the dominant language of the child whose first language is not English. With this one change the child begins developing the skills with the use of his first language without having to wait until he learns his second language.

III. Language development is provided in the child's second language.

By utilizing second language teaching methodology, i.e., teaching the listening and speaking skills by use of audiolingual instructional techniques prior to teaching the reading and writing skills, the child immediately begins to learn a second language. For the English-speaking child this instruction is in the language of the other linguistic group involved in the program and, of course, English is taught to the child who comes from a non-English-speaking environment. Unique about this component of the program is the fact that the child does not have to relearn language skills. He has only to transfer these skills learned in his first language to the second language.

IV. Subject matter and concepts are taught in the child's dominant language.

Content areas which are considered to be critical to the intellectual and emotional development of the child and to his success in the school environment are initially taught through the use of the child's first language, thereby permitting and encouraging the child to enter immediately into the classroom activities, drawing from all his previous experiences as a basis for developing new ideas and concepts.

V. Subject matter and concepts are taught in the second language of the child.

Since no language can be taught in a vacuum, content areas are also taught in the second language, providing the vocabulary and concepts which are needed for communication while the second language is being learned. Initially the number of ideas and concepts are necessarily few due to the limitations imposed by the amount of language the child controls. The teaching techniques are audio-lingual in order to insure the development of listening and speaking skills. As the child's second language ability develops, more and more content is included and the other skills, reading and writing are incorporated.

VI. Specific attention is given to develop in the child a positive identity with his cultural heritage, self-assurance, and confidence.

The historical contributions and cultural characteristics identified with the people of both languages involved are an integral part of the program. Both the conflict and the confluence of the two cultures are presented in the social development of the State and nation in order to create an understanding and appreciation of each in a positive rather than negative sense.

By providing the opportunities for successful participation and achievement, the child is encouraged to develop acceptance of himself and of others through social interaction."[11]

Briefly, the following Guidelines[12] compiled from research and reports from bilingual preschool programs, offer some practical suggestions and direction for establishing needs when a bilingual education program is under consideration.

1) The Community:

- . Is it linguistically stable?
- . If not, what nature of change is taking place and in what direction?
- . What are the social relationships between the two languages?

2) The Composition of the class (or school):

- . Are all children non-English-speaking?

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[11] "A Statewide Design for Bilingual Education," Texas Education Agency.

[12] Bernbaum, Marcia, "Early Childhood Programs for Non-English-Speaking Children," PREP Report No. 31.

- Do some speak English fluently?
- Are there children who are deficient of appropriate experiences and background for the traditional school curriculum?

3) The Desires of the Parents:

- Do they want their children to become a part of the dominant Anglo culture quickly? (Do they send their children to Head Start to learn English?)
- Would they prefer that their children maintain a bilingual/ bicultural outlook?

4) The Teachers:

- Are they bilingual?
- If not, is there a bilingual aide in the classroom?
- Are they knowledgeable of both cultures?

5) The Educational Future of the Children:

- Will they be going to an elementary school where only English is spoken and most of their classmates are Anglo?
- Will they remain in a bilingual/ bicultural atmosphere?

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HISTORY FOR THE FUTURE: THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE SPANISH SPEAKING POPULATION TO THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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History is what you remember. What you don't know or don't remember is not history. This idea has been suggested by people over many centuries that have recognized the importance of preserving some knowledge and destroying or ignoring other knowledge about the past.

As early as men can remember, whether it was the Egyptian civilization or Babylonian or Greek or Roman, the study of history was the means by which one generation determined the shape of the next. Most efforts to determine the shape, form, or conduct of the next generation were related to what one knows about the group in question -- the heritage, the tradition, the failures, and the success. Therefore, in every society are found a vigorous state and intense feeling of national consciousness. A group or a group consciousness would be found in a tribe in Africa or a wondering group in Asia, in a Greek city, state or medieval society, today in the United States, Texas, or California. Adults, parents, kings, princes, or invested interests try to determine what children will know about the past, and to also decide conversly what they don't want them to know about the past.

Our conference is very timely because in California and in several other states as well, we are presently undergoing a milestone legal action in which various community groups, black, Asian, and chiefly Chicano groups are suing the State Board of Education in an attempt to stop the adoption of a new social science series of books for grades 5-8. These books, it is alleged, fail to give adequate and fair treatment of the role and contribution of minority groups to the history of the United States. As one might expect in any such public controversy such as this, there is a wide spectrum of people. There are radical or extremist positions on one side and the other, as well as those who find themselves in a moderate position. Far from having any interest in taking sides on that controversy, however, I simply want to point out that I can predict that in the United States before very long, many many other states will be facing lawsuits and various other kinds of pressure from community or professional groups for the rewriting of American history and I want to direct my attention today to a new perspective on the Mexican American which will probably be new to some of you in the audience but it represents my perspective as a Latin American historian and as a European historian and I hope that it will be interesting and stimulating to you.

I will not pretend to be all inclusive because that would be phsycially impossible within the limits of the time available. If it is true that history is what you remember then I think Chicanos don't know who they are and where they come from anymore than do most Anglo-Americans. It is not surprising that this can be said because much of what has been written about Chicanos has been highly colored. We have amongst us pro-Spaniards, pro-Indians, pro-mestizos, and, as a matter of fact, very few Chicanos who are aware of, or are anxious to admit the Jewish heritage, the Asian heritage and the northern European heritage which are all part of being Mexican. In short, the slides we are going to see concentrate on the Hispanic element and ingredient in Mexican American history rather than the Asian, the African, the Jewish, the Moorish, and the Roman simply because of time. I hope that the suggestions that I will make regarding the Hispanic component in the Chicano culture will lead some of us to look a little bit deeper, read a little bit wider and perhaps reexamine some of our thinking in regards to who and what a Mexican American is.

I believe it is true that most Americans that are citizens of the United States of America don't know who or what they are. I don't believe that many Mexican Americans have come to terms yet with their own particular question of identity. Since the sixteenth century most European history and the history of the United States from its beginning has been dominated by a Northern European point of view in which French, Germanic, Dutch and English historians have written most of the books in their own language and then translated them into English or they have been written in English originally. Most of the books written by Northern European scholars have been written by Protestants or by people who had an interest in strengthening and developing the nation's state be it in France, the Netherlands, in England, or the various

German states. Therefore, as we look at a road map of Spain today, we can point out a number of different cultural and linguistic regions which have had a profound influence on the character of Latin American history, and the development of the Mexican and the Mexican American. These differences have not been underscored or explained in histories of Europe. Northern European bias against Spain and Portugal since the Sixteenth century helps explain why omission of the accomplishments of Iberian peoples is common in Northern European history books.

Along the Bay of Biscay, in northern Spain, we have groups of people like the Gallegos, the Basques and the Catalan each with a different language and with a different culture although generally with a fairly similar physical appearance. It is in the north of Spain, therefore, that we generally find the taller, lighter, 'gueros," redhead, green-eyed, blue-eyed people that look very much like our stereotype of the Frenchman, the Englishman, the Scot and the Celt. In central Spain, roughly right around the middle of the map, we find *"los castellanos,"* a mixture of northern and southern Spaniards. Their physical shape, the color of their skin, their eyes, the cephalic index, that is, the shape of their skull, all show the mixtures with the people around them over many thousands of years. In the south of Spain we find *"los andaluces."* These people are still more African than European, generally shorter, olive complected, long nose, narrow long head, and straight black hair. Some of them are very dark, as dark as any equatorial African that you might imagine. In Spain today *"la Guitarra"* is no more typically Spanish than half a dozen other instruments played in other parts of Spain outside of Andalucia. Only in recent years have a few Latin American scholars, using the archives of the Indies, begun to identify areas where certain Spanish types predominate in Latin America because of intermarriage and the liberal desires to preserve their Spanish heritage and family pride which existed among the Spanish settlers. In northern New Spain during the colonial period, most of the Spanish settlers were northern Spaniards as against Andalus or people from Valencia or Barcelona. In short, what I am suggesting before we continue is that there are many Spains, many customs, many values and attitudes, and many of these have been transmitted to Latin America and to Mexico.

In this picture of a small farm, Andalucia as a matter of fact, we find an example of a house which is the beginning of what we commonly call Spanish or Mexican architecture. The house is a Moorish house and it serves to illustrate how so much of Spanish civilization is Moorish, middle Eastern, rather than something natively Spanish. The use of adobe, the tile, the courtyard, the fountain, are all Moorish architectural features brought to Spain and adapted or altered in some respects when they were later brought to the Americas. In large parts of Mexico, you find Moorish architecture in the areas of New Spain where it was suited to the climate and where building materials were the same as they were in southern Spain.

We have in this photograph of a painting in Valencia another example of a feature of Spanish civilization brought to the Americas which is overlooked in most history books. This is the water council in *"el municipio de Valencia."* The Romans brought to Hispania what they called town councils with charters and self-government. Valencia, like most other Spanish cities that were built or founded by the Romans, is still an autonomous self-governing city to which technically the Spanish monarch or the chief of state, Franco now, must write and gain permission to enter. It is purely a technicality because I can assure you that Mr. Franco can go anywhere he wants to in Spain, but the paper work is still adhered to. Valencia at the time of this painting, was dated roughly around 1400 and today it is still an autonomous municipality. In short, the principles of self-government and self-determination and the ability to conduct one's own affairs is a very old Spanish institution that was brought to the new world when the *"municipio"* in the new world such as New Spain also governed itself on the basis of city charters.

One of the first things that Hernán Cortés did when he landed on the shores of Mexico was to call what we could describe as a town council which took upon itself the rights and prerogatives of city government in accordance with Spanish tradition, drew up a charter, and appointed Hernán Cortés chief and military commander of that municipality. There are many common examples in English history such as the Magna Carta and the development of Parliament that we can use to understand the development of American self-government. I suggest to you that it is equally significant to understand the history of Spain and the traditions they brought to America and perpetuated in New Spain in order to understand the Mexican of the 20th century or the Mexican American. There is as long, if not a longer tradition of self-government and a practice of public affairs among the Spanish people as there is among the Anglo-Saxon people.

This picture happen to be the working throne of Queen Isabella, *"la Católica,"* which was a portable desk in two parts and her chair. These were placed on carts on which she traveled throughout her kingdom in Spain during her long life. To me it exemplifies that *"los reyes católicos,"* upon realizing the scope of the *"nuevo mundo,"* were motivated by religious and royal ideas to make the new world a better place than the old. And with a mixed success from outstanding achievements to some glaring failures, the Spaniards in New Spain tried, at least as far as policy was concerned, to make a better world. The laws passed in Spain sanctioning and encouraging intermarriage between the Spaniards and the Indians, the so-called "new love" of the 1840's which officially recognized the Indians as human beings, creatures of God and equal to the Spaniards in the eyes of God and King, point to some judicial and moral decisions made by the Spanish monarchs which were unequaled or unparalleled by the monarchs or states in France, Germany, Scandinavia or England. Part of our dilemma in the United States regarding the Indian, and the black for that matter, is that, from the outset of our nation's establishment, the humanity of the black and of the Indian was not established.

We have here one of the ceremonies, *"La Semana Santa,"* in a particular city in Spain in which, during the sermon of the seven words that the priest is administering, reference is made to the sacred and religious mission that Spain still has throughout the world. Even today Spaniards are aware of the fact that their seed has been planted, so to speak, throughout the world. The Spanish language is spoken in places as far away as the Phillipines; and priests and nuns are still one of Spain's larger export items.

Part of the ceremonies of *la semana santa* are held by *"hermandades"* brotherhoods, whose members are known to each other and who admit children into membership at an early age to start imbuing them with the principles and the loyalties of the different Christian brotherhoods. During the entire *"reconquista,"* some six to seven hundred years of struggle against the Moors and then finally the Jews, the Spaniards quite frequently had to use anonymity and secrecy in their struggle to regain their homeland as they viewed it.

In some parts of Spain, processions during *"la Semana Santa"* are conducted solely at night; and it is a somber view indeed to see a city as large as Valladolid where you cannot find a light which you can turn on because the city's power is turned off. Only candles light the streets, giving a very dim view of the *"pasos,"* wood-carved statues, painted and repainted to where they look like marble. The procession, of course, is a medieval Christian form of worship and when one thinks of the processions of the United Farm Workers Association or of various Chicano groups today, as a historian I can't help but see that they are exemplifying or personifying the preservation in Mexico of the procession as an act of obedience, as an act of worship, and as an act of self-sacrifice and punishment in the marches all the way to Sacramento and other parts of the Southwest, to undergo suffering and to show dedication to a cause. One cannot recall of processions such as these among blacks, Asians, Jews or other Anglo-Americans. This is one of many such examples we will point to in which Chicanos exemplify Spanish and Spanish cultural traits. *"El Escorial"* is a monastery and palace near Madrid, built by King Phillip II at the same time that Louis XIV, the sun-king in France, was spending an equivalent amount of money to build an equally large palace called "Versailles." The palace in France was a "house of Pleasure"; King Phillip's was a monastery. With the exception of Mexico where there is so much anti-Spanish feeling, the other parts of Latin America regard the Spaniards as having been a serious and dedicated people. Throughout history even their mistakes deserve being given credit because of the motives underlying them. In Mexico, certainly since *"la revolución"* of 1910, it is very unpopular to say anything good or positive about Spaniards. It is almost like a child rejecting a parent psychologically.

This picture shows a priest on a motorbike going over an old road in Andalucía, again underscoring the fact that thousands of Spanish clergymen of both sexes leave Spain every year for all parts of the world. Catholicism among Latin Catholics such as the Mexican American is greatly affected by the Hispanic culture even today. In one of our more notable schools schools in Los Angeles, in fact our first bilingual education school in Los Angeles, the major thrust for the establishment of the bilingual program came from a Catholic priest of the parish of Santa Rosa in the two of San Fernando. As far as this Spanish priest was concerned, Father Balbuena, Spanish should be preserved on its own merit as Mexicans speak it, as well as how Spaniards speak it. He believes that one is no less American for speaking Spanish as one is no less American for speaking German or Swedish. I will always be indebted to Father Balbuena as an educator because the aura, the eminence, the moral weight of the Catholic church in Los Angeles, plus the fact that our superintendent was also Catholic supplied that extra little ingredient that made it possible to get the first bilingual school established when out of the seven votes on our Board of Education I could only muster two others and not four.

Phillip II was Spain's most notable king and the origin of much anti-Spanish sentiment in England from which so much of our Anglo-American culture stems. Anti-Spanish and anti-Portuguese bias in historiography, political science and sociology is called, as most of us are aware, *"La leyenda negra,"* the Black Legend, which has darkened and tarnished the achievements and the mission of Iberian people in order that the deeds and accomplishments of England and France in the Netherlands could seem greater. As Salvador de Madariaga put it in several of his phenomenal works, Spain and Portugal had to be wrong in order that England could be right. This prejudice against Spaniards, their language, their culture and their religion was transmitted to the founding fathers of the United States of America. So reading the correspondence and personal papers of figures like Jefferson, Madison, Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and others, we find evidence of anti-Spanish sentiment and fears about Spanish lands to the south and to the west.

There are some Mexican Americans that suffer from the inability to reconcile the conquest of one half of themselves by the other half, so to speak. Rejection of Spain, the nonexistence of *"La Plaza"* a city, or a monument, to any of the conquistadores exemplifies this feeling that tears at the very guts of Mexicans and Mexican Americans as well. Anglo-Americans do not have this question to deal with; nor do American history textbooks written almost exclusively about Anglo-Americans understand or deal with the history of Mexican Americans in a way that will help them or others understand their mestizo pasts, both the problems and the possibilities that stem from this mestizo past.

This picture shows one of Diego Rivera's many paintings. I do not know whether you can see the feature; however, right about my hand is Alvarado with red hair, fair-skinned and blue-eyed, his Indian woman and their child in a rebozo, fair, round-faced like an Indian, and with blue eyes as if Diego Rivera was trying to paint the first Mexican, the first mestizo. The fact that the Spaniard was almost always the male and the Indian the woman, has introduced a number of social and psychological facts related to the sexual question, *"malinchismo"* -- the Indian woman who gave herself to Cortés and facilitated, indeed, in an indespensable fashion, the conquest of Mexico by means of being able to translate bilingually, if you will, in such a way that the Spaniards could communicate with the Aztecs. We have here the branding of Indians and Africans, the enslavement of Indians and, obviously, because of Diego Rivera's intense feelings for Mexico, a negative picture of Spaniards. In the excavations for strengthening one 16th century church of Mexico, an ancient burial site was found. It appears to have been a mass burial although I was not there long enough to learn of the conclusions. It is very likely that it was a mass burial site for Indians killed during some of the conquest's turmoil.

The castle of Cortés in Cuernavaca was the only castle built before the Spanish kings realized the dangers that lay ahead if they permitted a nobility class to build fortifications in the new world. So, as part of the Spanish kings' effort to make America more secure and better, at least in their eyes, they prohibited the development of the construction of castles or fortifications in the new world except those built by order of the kings.

Hernan Cortes received tribute from his Indians granted to him in *"encomienda." "Encomendados"* were given a charge, a responsibility to exploit, educate, Christianize, and control with a responsibility. This institution was phased out within a hundred years, but it established the basis for a feudal society in New Spain -- a feudal society and an admission by components or members of one group or another of acceptance of their fate and their place in life, a certain fatalism which the Republic of Mexico has not yet completely erased. Much of this might be said to come from Indian attitudes and values, some of it from Spanish, some of it from Catholicism, and other ingredients as well. But not until the world of reforms in Mexico during the 1840's and '50's and certainly not before "*la gran revolución*" have Mexicans begun to adopt egalitarian, democratic attitudes towards life which were typical earlier among citizens of the United States when we speak about the rise of the cult to the common man, the election, for example, of individuals to the presidency like Andrew Jackson. We in the United States since that time have worshipped the common man and ordinary culture to the point where, as we will see in the elections this year, politicians split their infinitives, dangle their prepositions and use bad grammar purposely to show they are one of the people. The same thing, of course, has been happening in Mexico since the great revolution and Chicanos again exemplify the cult to the common man, "*a la mexicana*," by deliberately speaking incorrect Spanish even when in many cases they know the correct Spanish. They are, in essence, paying cult to a common man and showing a bias or prejudice against the elite, against the intellectual and against the wealthier people of higher social class.

In reality, there are two Mexicos, Spanish Mexico or Hispanic Mexico and Indian Mexico. Most of what we know revolves around the arts and the crafts of Indian Mexico which, unfortunately and tragically, far too many citizens of the United States take as being typical of all Mexican culture, rather than a poet like Sor Juana de Inez de la Cruz, a dramatist like Juan Ruiz de Alarcón and scores of other eminent thinkers and creative individuals throughout the colonial and national period in Mexico that are as equally representative of this complex people as are these Indians sarapes.

Therefore, this is the type of picture of Mexico that you will recognize in magazines, newspapers and textbooks; and it should not surprise us that if his-rests. A clever, simple, direct act by the conqueror to demonstrate to the Indians whose God is true, whose God is superior. So as one walks around the foundations of this Catholic church one can see extremely intricate, very sophisticated Indian carving and construction upon which the Catholic church rests.

An Oaxacan Indian about 15 years old is as fully mature in attitudes and in values as any forty-year old adult in the United States because life is more difficult, life is more serious, and life moves at a more rapid pace for him.

I suggest to you that Mexican Americans are in great part Mexican rather than citizens of the United States, because as long as there is a border dividing the two countries, and a stream of Mexicans crossing that border daily, we get a constant influx of Mexican Americans who bring with them in their suitcases, in their purses, in their wallets, in their hearts and in their minds the culture of the Indian, and the culture of the Spaniard and the Mexican starting the process of acculturation and assimilation into society in the United States from the very beginning.

Therefore, I suggest that American educators dispose of the idea that the Mexican American as a group will somehow fade away in time if all of us are successful. He and she will never disappear as long as there is a Mexico from which more shall come; and many of them will be pure Indian, or essentially Indian in their attitudes and values.

I am sure some of you have seen pictures of the fortifications in which the Zapotec Indians fought to defend themselves against the Aztecs for many generations. Indeed, the conquest of Mexico would have been literally impossible had it not been for the great hostility and hatred that most neighboring Indian tribes had for the Aztec. History is constantly being rewritten in light of new perspectives, and one of these might very well be that it was not the Spaniards who conquered Mexico, it was an insurrection of Indian subjects that utilized the Spaniard to overthrow the hated Aztec empire. That one suggestion gives much food for thought, because, to the extent that it might be true, it avoids and goes around all of those emotional questions and issues that separate and cause hostility between Spaniards and Mexicans.

tory is what you remember this is the image that most students in the United States of America see as what it is like to be a Mexican. And yet, there is nothing inherently wrong with being humble. In fact, I predict that the Chicano movement will soon come to a consensus on certain traits and attitudes that are more commonly found in rural small town life, non-industrial life, life and human relations in which individuals matter more than institutions, and recognize these things to be of great value -- things of great value which the Anglo-American society with industrialism and with large urban impersonal life has come close to destroying although luckily we see signs of Renaissance regarding these things. The Spaniards built many cities in Mexico, and I am sure you can recognize Guanajusto. The Spanish architecture in Mexico was built by Mexican Indians. Who deserves the higher credit, the conceiver of the architectural idea or the man who built it? In the United States, I suggest to you the Mexican Americans have made many contributions. These contributions must be measured not only in terms of books, plays, scientific innovations or prodution of smart automobiles, but in simply being there, in doing work and in contributing by means of being a citizen, worker, a shaper of a family, an essentially sound, moral stable family. The contributions of the common man in the United States and the Mexican American are very much alike. Mexican Americans have been indispensable to agriculture, industry and politics in the Southwest even if they haven't been sitting in the seats of power. Spanish architecture in America is a perfect example of the blend of these two elements.

The Mayan architecture is even more the source of inspiration in Mexico and among Chicanos for the feeling of pride and dignity. If you took the Mayan children, could drop them into Austin, or into Denver or Fresno, California, they would look just like Chicano kids. They face the same, very same educational problems, a bilingual educational program, for they dislike Spanish and prefer to speak in Maya. Maybe some of them get swatted in their schools in Mérida because they speak Mayan and have trouble reading in Spanish. In short, Mexico also has a bilingual educational problem except it consists of 15 or 20 Indian languages as they relate to Mexican Spanish. In the state of Oaxaca we have in the town in Mitla near the city of Oaxaca a Catholic church built with the very stone and mortar of the Indian temple upon which it

I believe it is historically true that 90 per cent of those attacking Mexico City were Indians, and not the several hundred Spaniards. Although it was not the Zapoltecs, it was other Indians closer to the capital of the Aztecs.

Athletics were common among Mexican Indian natíons as were the love of beauty, poetry, drama - all the arts. These creative individuals were, among the upper classes and this helps explain, in part, the tradition of respect for *"educación y la cultura"* found among most Mexican Americans. The failure of public education notwithstanding, few Americans have more faith and confidence ultimately in education and in culture than do Mexican Americans. In this picture is seen Teotihuacán, outside Mexico City, half way up the Temple of the Moon and looking across the great avenue to the left at the Temple of the Sun. One of the largest metropolitan areas constructed by people anywhere in the world until modern urban centers, and, constantly being further developed, this will without a doubt be a jewel in the world pointing to the great achievements made by peoples in ancient times.

"El museo de antropología," the museum of Anthropology in Mexico City is one of the most beautiful museums found anywhere in the world because of its holdings and also because of the objectives by which the museum was established. The museum was established for didactic purposes, to teach, to encourage, to elevate, to create; and among the principles guiding the formation of all of the exhibits is the common humanity of all men. In the mirror seen as one enters the museum, we find symbols of contributions to mankind made by peoples of all shades and origins. It is interesting to note that in many respects Mexican education is less chauvinistic than some of the emotions expressed by many Chicanos. This is not surprising for in many times and places in history, the frontier area of a given culture is more intensely loyal to the principles of the metropolis than is the metropolis itself.

Gradually more and more historical Indian documents are being unearthed and translated with ever greater facility so that an independent Indian history of Mexico is steadily emerging. In Indian history of Mexico in itself, as a set of words I deliberately put together, is a concept that causes great debate in

Mexico, for most Mexicans are not in agreement as to who and what they are. The greatest anthropologists and historians of Mexico still hotly debate *"mejicanismo"* -- what it is to be Mexican? And *"los indigenistas,"* the Indianists and *"los Hispanos"* constantly debate what it is to be a Mexican. The Indian component, of course, is ever gaining ascendancy. In viewing a reconstructed Aztec temple and a reconstructed chamber in a Maya temple, one begins to appreciate the beauty, the complexity, the sophistication of the Indian civilizations when Spaniards came, and one can begin to understand the remarks made by Spaniards in sheer wonderment when they asked whether they had reached some far away corner of God's Eden, a truly new world. So much destruction was caused during the conquest that only in recent years have some of the remains been reconstructed so that we can begin to understand why Spaniards said such fantastic things about the Indian civilization.

In this picture we see a drawing of the ancient plaza in Mexico City, made on the basis of the discovery of foundations within the city. The construction of the subway system in Mexico City has unearthed many new finds and I think it is an example of Mexican respect for its Indian past that these findings are being preserved and reconstructed. In some cases the path of the subway was moved around the foundations of some of these temples so that you can still see them by walking or riding by in the subway cars. There is no other nation in the world that has done anything like that with its heritage.

Indian craftsmen chiseled out numerous rococo facades that are seen throughout Mexico, and I sometimes wonder how excited an Indian sculptor accustomed to working stone with another stone or with obsidian must have felt when a Spaniard handed him a Toledo steel chisel which broke the stone as if it were soap. No wonder Indian craftsman went delirious in many of these facades now that they had the use of steel and other Spanish tools. You could not count the *"retablos"* and other beautiful interiors of public buildings, homes and churches in Mexico. Rejection of things Spanish in post-revolutionary Mexico has deprived them of one-half of its rich cultural past. In my view, one can only hope that the question of identity is resolved sufficiently among the Mexicans and the Mexican Americans so that we can draw upon the richness of all of our culture.

In this series of pictures of typical *"barrios"* in Mexico City you can see the acculturation and assimilation. There is a thrift shop for Mexican missionaries and orphanages with new and nearly new items; and a delicatessen including concave mirrors so you can see all of the store from the cash register. How American can you be? Here is seen a little *"chamaco"* in a *barrio* which I deliberately selected because not all Chicanos live in homes like this. It is clean although in need of paint and probably rented. The boy appears healthy and neat and he may not yet have discovered that he is Mexican as Anglos define it. He knows he is *"mejicano"* and that's beautiful, what else? But he has probably not yet learned that he is Mexican, and that is something else, is it not? Conferences such as ours will be redefining Mexican so you can say it with a smile and with respect. This little boy, alive today, has not yet been hurt by schools or by life outside the *barrio*. One can only hope that we can either insulate him or strengthen him to withstand the pressures of the bacteria that will infect him before long.

On a typical *barrio* street the entrepreneurs are working hard, enjoying it, and, as a matter of fact, conducting complicated social relations along the sidewalks and in the parks, exemplifying *"el paseo, en la plaza, en el mercado"* in Mexico.

During a procession we see an angry militant Mexican father. *"Al nombre de Jesús, todas rodillas se doblan."* I am not sure about the grammar but that does not matter. What I am more disturbed about is the blonde, blue-eyed Jesus. Anglo-Americans stole the church and Jesus from the Mexican, replacing the Spanish and Mexican clergy with German-Irish clergy soon after 1848 in order to secure control of that important ingredient or institution in the Southwest. Even today most of the clergy in Mexican American parishes are non-Chicano and many of the representations of sacred figures are Anglo. Jesus was probably as dark as a Chicano father, certainly not like the figure represented. So many of the clergy do not speak Spanish; not even God seems to understand. With *"La virgen de Guadalupe,"* a *"viejita"* appears confused but somehow also proud. I have spoken to many about the Chicano movement. They are disturbed and upset about how children are acting like Americans -- disrespectful, loud, disorderly, violent -- by showing their assimiliation through the use of uniforms, paramilitary techniques, direct action and defiance for authority, all for a cause. A cause for which this *"viejita"* has great love and its turmoil as she sees Chicano processions.

Many of the old timers think that children are going to the devil, or going to pot. And they are. Have you noticed how pot in no longer a Mexican problem? Assimilation in reverse. Most older Mexican Americans are not part of *"el movimiento"*. They still find it difficult to identify with the methods and the activities of youth. But this is one of the beautiful aspects of the ascent: that steadily the generation gap among Mexican Americans is closing. I think history for the future among Mexican Americans will be determined by the coming together of older Mexican Americans and younger Chicanos who will find a common basis for action in their struggle for equality, justice and dignity within the United States. When this happens, two very powerful ingredients will have come together rather than continue to resist each other. Indifference and confusion now among older people are gradually giving way to understanding and acceptance. I note in many demonstrations, in California at least, more and more older people are marching alongside their children. Many have said, to me and to others, My God, if we would have simply done what our children are doing here today, fifty years ago!"

The Catholic church, a complex, varied, beautiful, ugly, human institution, has been everything, for it is made by people. Today in the United States it has not quite clearly committed itself to involvement in the movement, at least at some levels. But more and more Catholic clergymen to whom most Mexican Americans relate are now joining *"la causa,"* putting God's shoulder to that of others.

More and more Mexican young people are becoming assimilated, that is, they are beginning to act, look, think, feel like other Americans. To this extent they exemplify the story of America -- the melting pot, the salad bowl. In short, what ever process we think of as the historical means by which polyglot, varied people of many cultures, races and religions have somehow blended into a WASP culture in America. Many Mexican Americans are joining this society, far more than we realize. More and more of them, however, are deliberately refusing, and a young man like this could not be expected to understand the history of the Indian past of Mexico, the Spanish past of Mexico, the three hundred years of colonial history, or the history of National Mexico itself. I can be pretty certain of this because of the schools he has attended and the books he has read. How can he know something he cannot read about or see? But he does understand the concept of the struggle for peace, freedom, and land involved in the concept, *"la revulución."* It scares the blazes out of some of our fellow Americans when they see words like *"Viva la Revolución"*; and the police come out in force, the tape recorders go on, the long range cameras start to grind away, the infiltrators are sent out and the provacators also. Words like these really shake up people. And I can assure you that the young man's father would never have done something like that. His father knew better ...except I sometimes wonder who does know better?

"Las muchachas, también." There is a myth that Latin women are docile, subservient, quiet, withdrawn. Ha! They simply are more skillful in managing their men. And throughout the history of Spain *"La Reina"* Isabella ~~is~~ no exception, I assure you, nor is Evita Peron an exception. There have been many strong, dominant, physically and militarily courageous women. We simply have not read about them and, so, since history is what you remember, we do not know about them. But I suggest that there may be some history that we do not know. These young girls are a new breed.

Sheriffs in Los Angeles correspond to the Rangers in Texas. Gradually, both groups are establishing better communications and beginning to understand what Chicanos are saying, even if they are a little upset by how they say it.

This is a picture of a brown beret wedding, a cult to religious ceremonies, some of them secret, some of them public, as evident in many of the paramilitary organizations found among Chicanos. The clothes of the clergyman and the dress of the parishioners, new clothes, new costumes and artifacts that symbolize as surely as an incense burner a connection with God and with spiritual things in modern or contemporary settings.

For many, Kennedy has replaced or taken the place of a saint. How more Mexican can you be than to be painted into Mexican Indian plate? You would think it would be Quetzalcoatl. And now, of course, Robert Kennedy has been added to the pantheon.

"El mercado" is a modern Mexican American version of an Indian market place to which many people come because of the noise, the bustle, the excitment, the fact that you can eat up on the balcony and listen to the *mariachis* all day long, seven days a week and still shop and do your business. There is no mall or supermarket that has that kind of flavor. The Chicano boys and girls in this picture are as beautiful as any are; and, frankly, it is up to people like us to inform and to help other educators keep them beautiful. Re-discovering, uncovering, admiring, prepetuating one's cultural past does not, in my view, as we redefine and reinterpret history, make us any less American, but rather, adds more content and substance to the sum total of what it is to be American -- for the Swedes, the Irish, the Poles, the Asians, the blacks are all as American as anybody else. Gradually the different Mexican costumes and dress of the different Indiam nations are coming to life, and it makes no difference where you see a beautiful girl, she will be beautiful and she is obviously happy for she has a far better view than her mother probably did of who and what she is. If history is but a prologue, then a better understanding of our past will help us determine the future.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Dr. Arturo Luis Gutiérrez

Bilingual/Bicultural education is one of the educational priorities for the State of Texas and has been identified as a national educational issue of our time. It is significant not only in specific regions of the United States, such as the five southwestern States--Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona and California--but also on a national scale. In short, bilingual/ bicultural education has come of age--it is a reality on the American scene. Its importance is reflected in its widespread implementation as a result of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and by the focus which it has received at this and other educational conferences. It is further reflected in the increased attention that has been focused on preserving and reinforcing the language and culture of the ethnic and cultural minorities. The concept of bilingual/ bicultural education is not new to the world or even to the United States, but its rediscovery has given a new impetus to its implementation. A look at the past (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1969) indicates that:

> Historically, American Education has been preoccupied with the complete Americanization and acculturation of all minorities including bilingual and bicultural groups. The rationale for this was that acculturation generally meant the annihilation of the minority culture (p. 1).

The report (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1969) emphasizes that two forces have been instrumental in encouraging the increased concern for bilingual/bicultural education.

> Educators, concerned with the socioculture of minority groups have begun to realize that the typical curriculum offered the middle-class English-speaking student has not provided equality of educational opportunity for minority children. They have mustered evidence which indicates that, in their encounter with typical curriculums and regular teaching approaches, minority

> children are significantly retarded. The attainment levels are also significantly lower than those of middle-class children. Educators are therefore calling for major curricular adaptations. Secondly, some minority group members who have survived the onslaught of the traditional curriculum have been clamoring for modification of the curriculum to include treatment of the minority culture and language. Not only should the history of the minority culture be taught, they assert, but also the teaching of subject matter should be done bilingually (p. 1).

One of the greatest problems facing non-English-speaking children in the nation is the public schools. The magnitude of the problem is reflected in the following statistics found in Report I of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1971):

> .Slightly more than two million Spanish surnamed pupils attend public elementary and secondary schools in the continental United States...
>
> .They comprise 4.6 percent of the nation's total enrollment in public schools and 23.1 percent of the entire minority enrollment.
>
> .Approximately 1.4 million, or about 70 percent of the Spanish-surnamed pupils, attend public schools in the five southwestern States of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas (p. 15).

According to Report II of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1971), "a basic measure of a school system's effectiveness is its ability to hold its students until they have completed the full course of study (p. 8)." Concomitantly, "numerous studies indicate that schools in the Southwest have a poor record in keeping minority group students enrolled... .(p. 8)," with Mexican Americans having "the highest rate of attrition among the three major ethnic groups before high school graduation (p. 10)," and the loss beginning earlier among Mexican Americans. The report further states that "by the eighth grade...9 percent of Mexican Americans have already left school (p.10)," and only 60 percent of the Mexican Americans are still in school at the time of high school graduation. By comparison, "of every 100 Anglos who enter the first grade...nearly all attend the eighth grade and about 86 finish high school (p. 10)."

To what do we attribute the school's poor holding power? As a general rule we have attributed the high dropout rate among Mexican Americans and other minority groups to economic factors within the family as well as the lack of parental interest in the education of their children. However, evidence indicates that unsuccessful experiences in the school are heavy contributors to this state of affairs.

Most of us can agree that before a child can achieve he must have a positive attitude and a positive self-concept. Nevertheless, among the many subtle discriminatory practices in the classroom which have negative effects on a child's self-concept are:

.teacher asks children to exchange papers for grading purposes and then requires them to call out their grades before the class--those with high grades build up their ego and self-esteem, but for those with low grades, their failure is reinforced and their self-concept lowered.

.teacher assigns English names to children, e.g., Juan becomes Johnny--this raises doubts of self-identity.

.teacher calls on only a few children in the classroom and unconsciously neglects others, i.e., those that need the most help get the least help--rejection of individuals.

.teacher disapproves of the children's use of Spanish in the school, the classroom and even in the home, i.e. rejection of child's language and values which results in a negative self-concept.

.teacher perceives class as slow and therefore unable to achieve, i.e., low expectations and negative attitudes become self-fulfilling prophecies which

results in failure and low achievement--
low self-esteem.

.teacher groups children according to ability--"apples", "bananas," and "lemons," and explains to visitors in a loud clear voice (in front of children) that the "lemons" are the SLOW group which can't read and can't do very much. Need I say what this does for any human?

Although all of the above are sample detractors and obstacles which many children face daily and which need to be removed, there is another area where much remains to be done.

The early education of disadvantaged children has been an issue of much interest in the last few years. Most educators agree with the "cognitive" psychologists such as Bruner, Bloom and Hunt (Pines in Frost and Hawkes, 1970) that "the result of an unplanned intellectual diet in the early years for the children of poverty is nearly always disastrous-a preordained failure in school and in adult life." In this context, then, the issue in question is not whether we should provide early childhood programs for 3-, 4-, and 5- year olds, but, rather, the quantity, quality and timing of intervention that will provide Mexican American children with the greatest benefits for success in school and in later adult life.

The idea of early intervention has been widely accepted throughout the nation, but a closer look reveals that the impact of early childhood instructional programs on the non-English speaker's academic performance has been either insufficient or irrelevant to his needs. Although much of the effort of current programs has been philosophically aimed at improving the academic achievement to a level where the children can be reached and/or served by existing educational programs, in reality this has not been accomplished. Concomitantly, educators are beginning to realize that if the academic achievement of Mexican American non-English speaking children is to be improved to a level where the child can succeed, a bilingual approach which accepts and uses the child's first language for instructional purposes and teaches English as a Second Language, has greater merit that a "traditional" approach. Therefore, it is proposed that while early childhood bilingual education programs should specify objectives which vary depending on the needs and desires of each individual community, the overall program should contribute to the physical, social, mental and emotional needs and interests of each individual. In addition, the programs should be characterized by the following components:

- the use of the child's mother tongue to teach the basic concepts initiating the child into the school environment
- the continued development of the skills of the child's mother tongue
- the development of understanding and speaking skills in the child's second language
- the development of concepts in the child's second language in consonance with the development of the child's second language facility
- the specific attention given to the development of the child's positive identity with his cultural heritage, self-assurance, and confidence.

In conclusion, several factors seem to have significance in the initiation and implementation of preschool programs for non-English-speaking children. The degree of success in academic achievement demonstrated by successful programs underlines the fact that the length and frequency of instruction are two very important factors to consider in planning programs. It would appear that a few hours per day of a well instructed bilingual program can be more effective than a fullday program which utilizes a "traditional" or unstructured nursery school approach. Also, the evidence alludes to the fact that the longer children attend an academically-oriented program before entering the first grade, the more positive and lasting the results.

Notwithstanding, and lest it be overlooked, the success of any program, measured in degrees of academic achievement and intrinsic motivation, does not merely happen as a result of a good program on paper. The key to this end is the teacher-parent team and its ability to motivate children intrinsically in their quest for knowledge and achievement.

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ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE AND THE BILINGUAL PROGRAM: WHY AND HOW

Michael Pool

What is the rationale behind the teaching of English as a second language? What is the justification for approaching the study of English through a linguistic orientation which takes into account the language background of the learner and on this basis proceeds to incorporate foreign language teaching techniques in the English classroom?

Let us consider the answers to these questions in the light of one child's educational experience. Let us, in our imagination, place him here before us. Let us consider his past with intelligent understanding, his present with respect, and his future with enlightened concern. His name may be Miguel... or Rubén... or Jesús...or any of the names from the Iberian peninsula of Southwestern Europe, the home of his ancestors who, over 400 years ago, initiated the daring exploits which were to change the face and the history of the continent on which we live. It was here, on the American continent, that his Spanish ancestors were confronted with the other half of his ethnic make-up, the ancient, proud and wealthy empire of the Aztecs. It was through the fusion of these two elements that his people, the *mestizos*, came into being.

Now 400 years of history rush by and over us. Aztec idols are destroyed, Christian churches point their crosses to the ancient sun and moon gods whom they deny, rivers run with blood, great colonial cities are erected, European clothing and language and customs are superimposed on the Indian world, ranching empires are founded, mechanization and industry are introduced, wars and revolutions ravage the land and the people, hordes of Mexican citizens migrate north of the Rio Grande where they soon encounter further bloodshed and oppression, treaties are signed, borderlines are drawn, railroads are built, industries flourish, stereotypes are drawn, spatial separateness isolates the *mestizo*, and *barrios* or "Mexican towns" spring up on the other side of a certain street, or *resaca*, or railroad track.

And it is there, along those streets, in those neighborhood stores, in those meticulously attended gardens, in those homes that the ancient language of Spain survives. His father talks to him of what it means to be a man, his mother instructs him in courtesy and respect, his brothers and sisters play games with him, his grandfather tells him of the folk heroes of bygone days, his uncles recount their wartime adventures in such places as Guam or Tokyo or Berlin in this ancestral language, liberally influenced by the Nahuatl language of the Aztecs, by ancient Spanish forms which have fallen into disuse in other nations, and by English, the language of the dominant culture of this new nation. It is in Spanish that he comes to know the world around him; this is the language which shapes his perception of reality. It is in Spanish that he fights and questions and explains and loves. It is in Spanish that he calls out the names of those who mean the most to him. It is in Spanish that he prays at night.

And then the sixth September of his life arrives. With an understanding of the deep structure of Spanish phonology, morphology, and syntax, he initiates his formal education in the public schools. He is innocent of the existence of those who regard his language with contempt, considering it foreign and un-American or, at best, a perverted and inferior variety of Spanish which they designate as "Tex-Mex." He is unaware that the books and charts and maps and other materials in his classroom were painstakingly and professionally prepared not for him, but for the child who has spent the last six years speaking English, within the dominant mainstream of the Anglo culture. He is totally unprepared to encounter a teacher trained to teach English only to those children already familiar with the language, children whose linguistic sophistication in the English language provides a framework within which the teacher can assume that the underlying structures of that language were learned years before the child entered school. He is vulnerable, defenseless... and the coming years of school may be marked by discouragement and disappointment. He may not learn, he may not progress, he may not meet expectations, he may necessarily be retained and after years of accumulated frustrations at school, coupled with the economic necessities at home, he may be so completely vanquished that he quits school to take a job as so many thousands like him have done before.

On the other hand, let us go back to this child's sixth September and suppose that the classroom he enters and the teacher he meets are not like what we have previously described. Let us suppose the materials available for the teaching of English are based on a contrastive analysis of the structures of English and Spanish and therefore accurately describe the points at which the two languages differ greatly... that is to say, the points at which the Spanish speaker will have the greatest difficulty with English. Let us imagine a teacher whose linguistic background has provided him with the understanding of the nature of language, with the knowledge of what composes language acquisition, and with modern techniques for teaching English to speakers of other languages. Let us look into this classroom to see what happens to the child we are considering.

First of all, his teacher knows what language is. Any significant consideration of the linguistic characteristics of bilingual speakers must necessarily begin with investigation of the language development process in the preschool years. It is only through understanding the nature of language itself, as well as its acquisition, that one can meaningfully comprehend the scope and complexity of linguistic development in a bilingual speaker.

Educators and others are becoming increasingly aware of the unreality of considering language a phenomenon the study and acquisition of which begin on entrance into the school system. The traditional but illusory idea that language is solely what is written in or read from books, that grammatical analysis of language is equivalent to language learning, or that literature and language are one and the same thing have largely given way to a more enlightened concept in view of investigations by linguists, anthropologists, psychologists, and others. As one observes preschool children communicating with one another and with other individuals, as one considers the degree to which sophisticated vocal interaction undoubtedly occurred among members of prehistoric societal groups lacking written language, or as one investigates the highly intricate linguistic systems of non-literate cultures in the world today, it becomes increasingly evident that language exists separately from writing. While this concept is difficult for many of the traditionally oriented to accept, it comes as no great surprise to experts in the field of reading who have long been aware of oral language development as preliminary to and requisite for reading readiness. Neither should it be misconstrued as demeaning or belittling the importance of reading and writing. It is merely the reporting of the fact that the aural-oral components of language can and do exist in situations where the written language does not, while the reverse is unheard of and is, indeed, unthinkable. Language, therefore, for the purpose of the present discussion, can be thought of as the arbitrary system of spoken symbols used for human communication.

On entrance into the school system, the speaker of Spanish has been engaged for approximately six years in the complex task of acquiring a communication system through a process of habit formation. During its beginning stages this process is characterized by plasticity and flexibility in vocal production which has no relation to the individual's racial, cultural, socio-economic, or language group. Later, however, babbling in the individual can be found to be characteristic of the speech community in which the child is found. Eventually he grasps the symbolic significance of language, the break-through which comes when he realizes that sounds can stand for things. As he matures, he adapts his babbling sounds to approximate and finally reproduce those sound sequences being used by others around him.

Language development continues through the next few years as the child's one-word sentences are expanded into the expression of wants, narration of experiences, and increasingly longer, more complex sentence structures revealing understanding of moods, tenses, numbers, and other structural components, however imperfectly.

Thus, by the time he reaches school age, the child has attained control of phonemic, morphological, and syntactic structures within the framework of a limited vocabulary. Of particular significance to educators is the realization of the fact that by the age of six the child has long since embarked upon the linguistic adventure and has firmly established those automatic, habitual behavior patterns that enable him to understand and be understood by other human beings in his environment. Constant reinforcement of these systems is occurring during the school years as well, as a result of the learner's continuing contact with his original language environment.

The child has spent a great deal of time and effort in gaining a relative amount of control of the language spoken by those surrounding him and is able to function within this system. Although he is in command of a linguistic system which is at variance with that which characterizes the speech of educated speakers of English, it serves him with greater or lesser adequacy to relate in his most basic human sense to his surroundings and to those human beings with whom he shares both the most insignificant and the most meaningful areas of his existence. In short, it is the final, authoritative evidence of his humanity.

It should be emphasized that at this point we are referring to those respectable and legitimate dialects of Spanish which are spoken in the southwestern United States. This language, which has evolved as a rich mixture of Arabic, Latin, Greek and other tongues, with characteristic influences of archaic Spanish, English and Nahuatl is finally being recognized for the rich idiom which it is. The time has come for those who speak it and for those who teach those who speak it to refute the ignorant and the misinformed who for so long have perpetrated the myth that it is inferior to other languages.

In this language he is able to comprehend and relate experiences in the past or the future, nonpresent situations, imaginary occurrences and hypothetical concepts, feats which no other animal can accomplish. In a very real sense, he is human because he possesses the uniquely human gift of language. That the educational experience has been one in which bilinguals have had this gift ridiculed and punished is an undeniable fact and one that should convince every educator that practices based on ignorance of the significance of language and its acquisition are not to be tolerated.

Let us look at the sound systems of English and Spanish. The linguistically oriented teacher knows that no two languages use the same significant sounds, although all languages have a limited, systematic phonemic structure. The term phonemic is used to refer to those units of sound which are significant in that they cause changes of meaning in otherwise identical environments. The initial consonant sounds of the words *bale* and *veil*, for example, are phonemes in English since they are the only sound differences in the two items. Note that while those portions of the words following the initial consonant are spelled differently in each of the examples, their pronunciation is identical, and keep in mind that in the present consideration of language it is to be thought of as a spoken rather than a written phenomenon. The fact that /b/ and /v/ represent two separate phonemes in English should not be misconstrued to mean that they are two separate phonemes in other languages. In the phonemic system mastered by the bilingual child, this may not be a meaningfully different pair of sounds, and thus he may experience considerable difficulty in dealing with these sounds in English. The consonantal and vowel structures of the native language of the bilingual child may vary greatly with those of English and thus serve as interference mechanisms that make difficult his learning of English pronunciation.

His teacher knows that it is the attempt to speak one language with the sound system of another which results in what we call an "accent". He recognizes that this child's accent is, then, his use of Spanish phonemes when attempting to speak English. His understanding of the phonemic systems of both languages enables him to deal efficiently with those sound features of English which are particularly difficult for this child. He will spend relatively little time dealing with such English sounds as /f/ or /m/ or /l/ at the beginning of words since phonemes almost identical to these occur in Spanish in the same positions, but will systematically approach the pronunciation of sounds which do not occur in Spanish such as the underlined sounds in *rap*, *just*, and *measure*. He will teach words such as *speak*, *school*, and *stop* with carefully structured drills because he knows that no Spanish word begins with an s followed by a consonant and that Spanish speakers may tend to say *espeak*, *eschool*, and *estop*. He will never explain regular plurals as being the addition of s or es to nouns because he knows that the Mexican-American child cannot possibly be expected to know that this sign of the plural is sometimes pronounced as /s/ as in *hats*, *cups*, *cakes*; sometimes as /z/ as in *roads*, *tubs*, *dogs*, and sometimes as the syllable /IZ/ as in *busses*, *bushes*, *edges*.

Or let us consider the teaching of the English word-forming system, English morphology. Individual sound units of the language are largely meaningless in and of themselves, until they take on the nature of basic meaning units or morphemes. Morphemics, then, may be considered the combination of phonemes into words and/or their component parts. The phoneme /z/, for example, means nothing when uttered in isolation, yet can mean any number of things in its functions as different morphemes. At the end of the word *boys* it is a unit of meaning indicating plurality, a plural morpheme. At the end of the second word in the phrase *the man's hat*, it is a possessive morpheme. At the end of the second word in the sentence *He understands*, it indicates third person singular, present tense, indicative mood.

Morphological structuring of standard English obviously differs from that of other languages. The bilingual learner will produce morphological errors explicable in the light of the system he has learned in preschool years. The production of a sentence such as, *Those crayons are mines*, is typical of a bilingual child in whose native language possessives agree in number with other sentence elements. The teacher cannot assume that this child knows that the adjective *big* has a comparative form which is *bigger* and a superlative form which is *biggest*. He knows that the addition of such suffixes as -er and -est is foreigh to this child who has mastered a completely different system of composing comparative and superlative forms. He never groups together such words as *chair* and *chalk* under the label nouns, because his training has taught him that while we may say *a chair* and *three chairs* in English, we may not say *a chalk* or *three chalks*. Thus he must distinguish between count and mass nouns. He knows that teaching units should be formed to teach such words as *rainy*, *cloudy*, *windy*, *dusty* in which the morpheme i , graphically represented by the letter y, changes nouns such as *rain*, *cloud*, *wind*, and *dust* into adjectives.

When the formation of phrases or sentences, traditionally known as grammar and termed by linguistics as syntax, is taught, again we find the teacher using his linguistic knowledge to its best advantage. Knowing that Spanish and English word ordering differ greatly at points, his approach to this area of language teaching is realistic, dealing with problems that actually exist. He recognizes the tendency to put most descriptive adjectives after the noun they modify (for example: *He has a ball green.*) and structures drills such as: *He has a green ....(ball, shirt, pencil, kite,* etc.) to instill as an automatic habit the placement of the adjective before the noun. He knows that the transformation from a statement to a question in English is not to be assumed as simple or "natural" but should be recognized as a highly complicated procedure requiring extensive modeling and drilling. After all, the change from *He wants a drink* to *Does he want a drink?* has involved the insertion of the auxiliary verb *to do* before the subject of the sentence, the use of the correct form of this auxiliary so that it is in agreement with person, number, tense and mood elements in the sentence through the transferral of the s of *wants* over to the end of *does*. A simple or natural procedure? Hardly.

The fourth area of consideration is that of vocabulary. In this respect we find bilingual speakers at an obvious disadvantage. There are, of course, widely varying degrees of bilingualism. Similarity of ethnic or linguistic background of any two bilingual speakers is no guarantee that each enters school with the same word stock. To some degree, however, the bilingual child does evince a shortage of vocabulary items in the English language which may be accompanied by a dearth of vocabulary in his native language as well.

Entrance into school throws the bilingual child back to that period in his language development of identifying relationships between sounds and their meanings. The resulting sense of frustration and confusion can be damaging to the bilingual child, particularly if his native language is nowhere in evidence in the school and he is not provided with the stimulation and encouragement of experiencing the excitement of the learning process. This experience is made even more disagreeable by the realization that having learned a vocabulary item in one context does not guarantee his being able to use it in another. The Spanish speaking child's sense of accomplishment in learning that *poner* translates as *put* when referring to the placement of a book on the desk, for example, quickly fades when he attempts to use the same English verb in the sentence *The nurse put me a shot in the arm*, a situation in which *poner* would have been used in Spanish but in which *put* is now considered incorrect.

The teacher trained in ESL knows that teaching the words of the language is not the same as teaching the language. He knows that confusions are apt to arise if he makes the mistake of equating English and Spanish words, since these words do not cover the same areas of meaning. He will never equate *table* with *mesa*, for example, for he knows that such English use of that word as in *multiplication tables*, *timetable*, or *to table a motion* has no relation to the Spanish word *mesa* whatever. He knows that hundreds of English words are going to be relatively easy for this child to recognize, either because they came into English directly from Spanish (*corral*, *lasso*, *crocodile*, *rodeo*, *cockroach*, etc.) or from common Latin, Greek or Arabic origins. He knows that such a word as *chocolate* will be recognized more readily than *strawberry* because of the existence of hundreds of such cognates, words so similar between languages that they are easily recognizable. He also knows to introduce with great care and in proper context such expressions as *He was the apple of his mother's eye*, *It was raining cats and dogs*, or *It was all Greek to me* since he recognizes the idiomatic quality of these utterances and knows that they are learned only when observed in situations where their true meaning can be deduced from the context.

Anthropological studies have provided us with ample proof that many of the ethnic groups in this nation from which bilinguals come reveal cultural characteristics that are widely different from those found outside the group. Despite a common humanity, human beings cannot be realistically thought of as being the same in their values, perceptions of reality, and relationships to the world and to one another. Thus the ideal school experience for these children may be conceived of as a restoration and/or preservation of individual dignity in which broadening of experiences and language development play crucial roles.

These learners may come from environments which lie well outside the affluent middle-class American mainstream. The value systems and attitudes of educators are frequently so widely divergent from those of the children under consideration that serious mis-understandings occur. Boredom and frustration are further compounded when materials originally designed for use with other children are employed in these situations. Presentations of the typical, well-dressed Anglo-Saxon family in a tastefully furnished home, friendly relationships with the smiling policeman on the corner, and trips to the grandparents' farm on weekends may be largely meaningless to disadvantaged children for whom such individuals and situations are well beyond the pale of reality as they know it. Even such apparently clear-cut concepts as honesty and dishonesty take on new and significant complications when a child is accused of stealing without appreciation on the part of the accuser that the child comes from an environment which may not permit the luxury of individual ownership and instead recognizes all material objects as common property.

The myriad examples preceding have served to show us just a sampling of the types of knowledge and activities that would characterize a teacher whose insight and training have equipped him to be a truly competent teacher of English as a second language. Yet not all teachers in bilingual programs possess such knowledge and training. Why? Because it has not been made widely available to them. The curriculum in an Education Department of a college or university which is geared solely to traditional preparation of teachers of native English speakers cannot possibly produce competent teachers of bilingual students. This has to be a matter of grave concern to all bilingual educators. If we are teachers and we feel unprepared to teach English as a second language, we have the right to demand training in this field. If we are administrators, we have the obligation to provide it. Unless we do, bilingual programs' claims to answering the special needs of non-English speaking children will be empty and meaningless.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT FOR BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL PROGRAMS
A PHILOSOPHICAL BASE

Gloria Zamora

Bilingual/Bicultural Education serves as a positive response to the need for equal educational opportunity for the thousands of children in the United States whose first language is other than English.

In the 60's when the first national efforts to initiate bilingual education programs in the United States were made, our children were called "culturally disadvantaged" and their home language was called a "problem" or a "handicap."

In 1972, many people still consider Spanish, or French, or Chinese, or any language other than English a "handicap." Culture and language are problems or handicaps only when the school fails to see them as assets and fails to capitalize upon them as sources for learning and intellectual development.

Before the staff development component of any bilingual program can be determined it will be necessary to examine the philosophical base of the program, for from the philosophy flows the design or model for all the components.

Investigation of bilingual/bicultural programs throughout the United States reveals a wide philosophical difference.

1) There are those programs that use the dominant language only as a "bridge" to help the child move into English as quickly as possible.

2) There are programs that look upon bilingual education strictly as an oral language development program, with heavy emphasis on ESL.

3) There are programs that translate the existing English curriculum into the home language and call it bilingual education. Perhaps it is

bilingual, but it is no better than what we had before and it definitely is not bicultural.

4) There are programs that utilize the dominant language to stimulate cognitive development, extend the knowledge and use of the mother tongue and develop the knowledge and use of the second language, English -- all of this enhancing the self-concept because the program treats the culture and home language of the students as positives.

The philosophy of the Edgewood Independent School District, in all of its programs, is the latter. We are working with "handicapped" or "disadvantaged" children, but with "atypical" children. The district's "Theory of Incompatibilities"[1] serves as the rationale from which the staff development component flows. Briefly, when one examines the typical school structure, it is quite evident that there are incompatibilities between it and the atypical children we serve.

These incompatibilities have been identified and grouped into five major categories: poverty, culture, language, mobility and societal perceptions. It is our responsibility as educators, then, to reduce the incompatibilities not by changing the child (as has been so unsuccessfully done) but by changing the Institution. We will examine each of the incompatibilities and responses to the incompatibilities in detail in order to formulate the staff development component. Let us also bear in mind that staff development must include administrators, supervisors, teachers, teacher-aides and parents -- everyone who works with the child.

Poverty--The typical instructional program fails to take into account the effects of poverty: a large child-to-adult ratio in the home, the absence of typical adults in a family, the dissipation of adult energies in meeting the basic necessities of life, the relative absence of communication media in the home, the absence of toys and activities that stimulate intellectual development and the deprivational effects of inadequate housing, malnutrition and poor health.

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[1] The "Theory of Incompatibilities" was developed by Dr. José Cárdenas and Miss Bambi Cárdenas.

What implications does this have for staff development?

Culture--What is culture? It is much more than the art and music of a people. It is their value system, their life style and their language. Traditional curriculum is oriented to an ethnic group and a culture incompatible with the culture of minority groups. Our children have been called "culturally disadvantaged" when in reality they are culturally different children who become culturally deprived only after culturally-biased institutions succeed in damaging the fabric of culture through consistent and heavily armed attack.

Does this have implications for staff development?

Language--This third incompatibility between the instructional program and the characteristics of the learner is an element of culture so significant in its role as an impediment to learning that it must be listed separately. It is readily apparent that an incompatibility exists when a Spanish-speaking child is placed in an English-language instructional program. It is at this point that we must re-examine our philosophy. Shall we eradicate this language "problem," this "handicap," and move him into English as rapidly as possible? Or shall we recognize his home language as a marvelous asset which should be recognized, nurtured and developed?

What implications does this have for staff development?

Mobility--To a large extent, the instructional program for typical children is one designed for stable populations. The sequence and continuity in the instructional activities assumes that the child participating in them also acquired previous and often prerequisite learnings and that the same child will be present to participate in subsequent and often dependent learning activities. This is a dangerous and false assumption to make wherever there is a high mobility factor. The problems of poverty often necessitate migrant labor, or relocation within the school attendance zones. The education of these children suffers from a lack of sequence and continuity.

How can staff development help reduce this incompatibility?

Societal Perceptions--The perceptions that people in a child's educational environment have of that child, as well as the child's own perceptions of himself, maximally affect the level of success or failure enjoyed by the child in an educational program. Teachers expectations for atypical minority-group children tend to become self-fulfilling prophecies. Teacher attitudes and resultant teacher behavior may substantially alienate the child from the instructional program. Consistently poor performance in an instructional program which is incompatible with his cultural and learning characteristics further enhances the negative perceptions the child has of himself. Thus, we find the child in a vicious cycle involving negative feelings which lead to failure, further reinforcing negative feeling and perpetuating poor performance.

What can we do in staff development to help counteract negative perceptions?

Interrelatedness and Interdependence--The five categories of incompatibilities do not operate independently of each other. Mobility alone is not necessarily disabling. It is mobility coupled with poverty, with language, with culture, with negative perceptions which produces disastrous educational problems.

Dealing with these incompatibilities in our educational system is analogous to the medical treatment of a sick person. If he has a brain tumor, a ruptured appendix, and a cerebral hemorrage, the finest surgery for removal of the brain tumor will not be sufficient to save his life.

Bilingual education, too, is doomed to failure if we respond only to language. Let us develop programs that respond to all of the incompatibilities. For the teacher and the staffs of bilingual programs, let me say that love is not enough--we must develop some new methodologies, curricula and staffing patterns in order to respond to all of the incompatibilities.

LOVE IS NOT ENOUGH

Scene I Classroom

Sweep of classroom showing culturally relevant bulletin boards -- small-group activity -- parent or other volunteers. (Also show Paul Video-taping presentation)

Narrative

N: Now that we have a philosophical base from which to operate -- The Theory of Incompatibilities -- let us look at some staff development activities that can result.

(Focus on teacher and student faces, particularly when the student responds. Show the teacher when the student responds. Show the teacher writing the child's own story contributions on the chalkboard or chart paper.)

N: This teacher is being video-taped as she works with her students. Later in the day she and the staff development specialist will analyze her tape using a locally-designed "Checklist of Teaching Strategies." Video-taping, if properly handled, can be nonthreatening objective method for teachers to evaluate their own strengths and weaknesses.

(Shoot those scenes that will show poverty-communication-involvement-smiles.)

N: What incompatibilities is the teacher responding to in this lesson?

Poverty is characterized by the lack of communication skills. In this activity the teacher is responding to poverty through small group instruction characterized by much interaction between the teacher and all members of the group.

(The shots should show use of the childs' language and culture.)

N: The reading activity is certainly culturally based because the teacher is utilizing the child's own experiences as well as his language.

N: Content can be irrelevant for a migrant child who moves from place to place. But a child whose intellectual development has been stimulated takes with him some thinking skills and processes that he can apply to any situation.

-Perceptions-

Show happy faces -
Animated expressions -
Student involvement -
Motivation

N: As you can well see from the animated expressions on the children's faces and the amount of student involvement motivation is no problem. These children feel very happy about their school experiences. Learning should not be a frustrating experience, it can and should be fun. Piaget says that play is a child's work.

Scene II Parental Involvement

Show parent working with students in an instructional activity.

Parent will have objects that the children will manipulate.

Show parent's expression, students' reactions
Involvement

N: Teachers in our program are expected to utilize many adults, including parents, in instructional roles. These staff differentiation patterns result in many positive gains for the students, the parents and the school. I would like for you to hear from one of our teachers on this subject of parental involvement. (Carolina Peña will speak briefly, perhaps 30-40 seconds)

N: We talked to Mrs. Juana Flores, the parent that you see working with this group and here is her opinion on parental involvement. (Mrs. Flores will speak about another minute.)

Then we will once again refer to the Theory of Incompatibilities:

Poverty
Culture and Language
Mobility
Perceptions

N: By reducing the child-to-adult ratio, by grouping students with the same instructional needs, and by utilizing community people in a position of respect -- a person who speaks the child's language, and one with whom the child can identify, we are responding to the incompatibilities of poverty, culture, language and mobility.

Perceptions are changing too--the teacher's, the parent's and the child's. All are beginning to see each other in a different light. Parents and students are beginning to see school as a positive experience.

Scene III

The staff development committee will be seated around a table planning the summer institute.

Chalkboard

N: Self-direction is the highest level of functioning. Teachers can lead children to self-direction only if they themselves, are allowed to become self-directed. This group of teachers is helping to finalize plans for the summer institute.

Mrs. Estefana Martínez, an experienced teacher in our bilingual program and a member of the staff development committee, had this to say about their assessment of teacher needs. (Estefana will talk about one minute)

(A model of the institute plans will be on display. As Jill Thrift describes the offerings, the camera can focus on the model.)

N: Jill, you've been working very closely with the teachers, Our Lady of the Lake College staff, and our own administrative staff. Can you fill us in on the institute plans to date. (Jill will talk 1-1 1/2 minutes) [options--culturally based activities-practicum]

N: I know a lot of work has gone into this planning, but I'm sure the benefits will be tremendously rewarding.

Scene IV (Final Scene)

Olga Rubio's classroom. The camera should slowly pan the entire scene:

Bulletin boards
Teacher and her group
Aide - and her group
Parent - and his group
Students engaged in optional, self-directed activities.

N: We all recognize the importance of a good teacher -- a good designer of learning -- one who truly believes that "the child learns by doing -- his doing and no one elses." But love alone is not enough. Our staff development strategies must equip the teacher with the attitudes and skills necessary to recognize and reduce the incompatibilities between the typical school program and our atypical children -- teachers who recognize that we don't want a "melting pot," but, rather, cultural pluralism, with all its beautiful differences.

TWO SIDES OF THE COIN FOR THE NAVAJO CHILD: CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN TERMS OF TASKS AND INDIVIDUAL CRITERIA ASSESSMENT OF THE TASKS

Dr. E. Roby Leighton

Rough Rock Demonstration School is thirty miles from Chinle, Arizona and the famous Canyon of Chinle but is has long been isolated by eighteen miles of very bad dirt road. The economy is rural and with the exception of the school salaries for income only six or seven of the two hundred families make more than a subsistence living from their sheep and cattle. Since 1882 certain families have had cattle, but almost all have sheep.

In 1966, under Dr. Robert Roessel's direction and with the assistance of the current Navajo Director, and since 1969, Mr. Dillon Platero, this community selected an all Navajo School Board and became a demonstration school to prove that patterns for culture, including language, should be developed for both Navajo and English.

The school has grown steadily since 1966. Growth has been physical, curricular and conceptual. Experimentation has become a key to steady development of bicultural management with the objective of truthful evaluation for each student's progress against himself and as a group in the school.

The emerging picture is that of a coin. On one side is a strand of cognitive subject objectives and on the other is the evaluation of the student's progress against himself. Against the starting point is the objective task achieved by the student on the sequential scale on pretest, the finish is the last task achieved on his post-test. This is then translated by assignment to an arbitrary scale of 1-5 for general arithmetic accountability and assessment of overall program strengths and weaknesses. There is no limit to the member of cognitive learning and affective adjustment strands which can be measured by the other side of their "coins" by the task achievements translated to the numerical scale of 1-5. Metaphorically speaking, apples, pears and bananas can be translated to the same 1-5 scale and manipulated as required for truthful evaluation of progress, either individually or in groups as desired.

Why do we go ahead with this kind of evaluation?

General Assessment of the Impact of the Second Year's Impact of Participating Groups:

1. Students. There has been a continued increase in the students' willingness to express themselves creatively, to participate in group activities and to speak out on issues. The bicultural emphasis of the school has been well accepted by the students, staff and parents alike. Students appear to be relaxed and speak spontaneously with visitors. They seem anxious to try out their skills in English. Children are frequently observed moving from one language to another with little or no discomfort.

2. Staff. The development of objectives for each area of the school's program has increased the involvement of staff with the difficult questions basic to the learning process. The staff has approached this time-consuming task with more enthusiasm than was expected. They feel that the goal of a unified, inter-related, and sequenced curriculum for Rough Rock Demonostration School is one to which they can readily subscribe.

3. Parents. Parental involvement is probably superior at Rough Rock to the involvement found in any typical urban school district. The major change in this area this year has been the establishment of a community advisory committee, whose chairman has been extramely active in all aspects of the school's operation, and well aware of the community's feelings and needs. For example, through this group, it has recently become apparent that the school's reporting system for conveying to parents their child's progress has not been adequate. Some parents are disturbed about a lack of information, about the progress of their child in school, or

have difficulty in interpreting the kind of reports which they receive. Attention has therefore been focused on this problem and plans are being made to the in problem. Plans are being made to tie in the progress reporting system to the criterion-referenced assessment plan to ensure that parents will be assured that they are informed and have a voice in their children's educational development.

4. School. The school's administration and school board have been unalterably opposed to standardized testing in any form. They are not particularly enthusiastic about evaluation in general. It has therefore been very difficult to implement a program that would provide concrete data on the child's learning progress in any given area. For this reason, the impact of the program on the individual child, has been extremely difficult to assess. The criterion-referenced assessment design being developed this year has thus far fared better with the school's director and the school board. The school board wants a Navajo whose time can be spent on that. A person has been selected (pending the approval of the school board, the school's director and U.S.O.E.) who is well educated in both cultures, respected in the traditional community, well acquainted with the goals and problems of the project. That person is Mrs. Wade Hadkey and she is here today.

How will we accomplish this cognitive curriculum strand?

The student will demonstrate fluency in both oral and written Navajo and English. We will consider teaching English to speakers of other languages. The TESOL sequential development of objectives will be used as our example. A TESOL pre-test was given in November to the total student population. This will be followed up with a post test in May. The data will be compared for indicators of progress. Teachers in this area have completed sequenced objectives for English from pre-school through the fifth grade equivalent with the help of the TESOL consultant and the specialist. Work is progressing at this time to extend these sequenced objectives through the high school. Due to the newness of the high school program, difficulties in writing objectives for the TESOL components at this level have been encountered. The English Language Arts Committee, which was established this year, will continue working on correlating English as a Second Language instructional objectives with other language arts goals. The specialist and this committee are continuing to work with the Curriculum Center in the development of additional sequenced materials to meet the needs expressed by teachers. The TESOL specialist has set up a program to incorporate more of the ESL teaching techniques in those classes where Navajo language is the primary medium of instruction. A number of games and activities have been developed by the specialist and teachers to serve as an instructional medium for English as a Second Language.

REVISED EVALUATION DESIGN

Introduction

The bilingual-bicultural program is an experimental program. Therefore, many of the parameters of the evaluation process will have to be identified and techniques for data collection and analysis developed as the project progresses.

The opportunity exists to both develop instruments and to adapt existing instruments to the unique bilingual-bicultural situation at Rough Rock. These opportunities are being explored.

The rationale for the evaluation is based largely on two major dimensions identified as crucial determiners of project effectiveness: (1) Student behavior change and (2) staff behavior change. The project director and the evaluator both feel that staff behavior change, particulatly as it relates to understanding the philosophy of cultural pluralism upon which the project is based, and the operationalization of this philosophy in daily teaching routines and/or other functions (such as teacher training, staff planning, materials development, service functions, etc.) is of equal importance with student progress at this stage of the program's development.

In order to implement the evaluation a system of record keeping, reporting and specification of teaching objectives has been developed. This system (which will be explained in the next secion) is proving successful in helping the specialists and teachers specify discreet teaching objectives, sequence these objectives and develop pre- and post- testing for each. It further provides for the reporting of all project specialists' activities and accomplishments and for reporting of student progress in the accomplishment of the product objectives of the instructional component.

Description of Record System Forms

Forms RD-1 and RD-2: These forms form a daily log for project specialists from which data concerning number and types of contacts, specific services performed and progress on projects can be collected.

Form RS-1: The grid is a form for reporting the students' progress in objectives, or other suitable data. Pupils are identified in the left-hand column. Objectives are identified by number on the top line. One sheet covers a month's work, and is checked against the computer printout each month. The number of objectives to be covered in a month is not specified. Instead, the teacher lists the number of objectives she has covered that month. The bottom line gives the total number of children who achieved each objective for that month. The right-hand column shows the total objectives achieved by each child for that month.

As children make up objectives after the month's report is handed in, this is reported on the regular form with the data indicated.

The children will therefore show a profile of continuous progress as measured against their previous performance. Objectives are grouped in levels of increasing difficulty. In this way generalizations can be made about the class's progress as a whole. The aim is for most students to advance one level a year.

Thus, it will be possible to keep track of students' progress through two measurements: The pre- and post-tests given at the beginning and end of the year, and by the checklist of individual objectives achieved.

Each objective includes a pre- and post- test, so that the teacher is constantly evaluating student progress. The specialist will give random tests a minimum of five times during the year, to assure the validity of the evaluating system and to help the teacher give appropriate review.

Form RS-2: This form is an all-purpose graphing form for whatever need arises such as line of bar charts of group or individual progress, time and event check-off, etc.

Form RS-3: This form is for scheduling and planning for a month's activities primarily for project administration and speacialists but useful for all staff.

Form RS-4: Self-explanatory.

Form RS-5: This form provides a standardized format for the development and cataloging of teaching objectives and their related strategies and evaluation procedures.

Form RS-6, 7, and 8: Self-explanatory. Forms RS-7 and RS-8 provide for summarizing specialist activities listing significant events or services chronologically, etc.

Form RS-10: Self-explanatory.

Rationale for Product Evaluation Using Criterion Referenced Assessment

Each student is an entity--an individual person. And though he does not function in a vacuum, most enlightened educators believe his academic progress should be measured in light of his own previous experiences and achievements rather than in relation to his neighbor's. With this basic premise in mind, and the reality-oriented observation that our funding agency and our students' parents wish certain kinds of information, we propose the following method of expressing and evaluating our students' progress.

The U.S.O.E. must receive a clear and simple indication of what the group of R.R.D.S. students has learned during the funding period. We will provide them with a list of the sequential objectives, and the number of objectives each learning group has completed (providing both the total and the mean). While not included in the evaluation report, the individual teacher-measures of learning tasks completed will be available at Rough Rock for examination. For each learning area, or class, at least four tests will be developed and normed on the students enrolled in the year's program. The first test will be comprehensive and will serve as a test-retest indicator of achievement.

Parents will be given a portion of the information provided previously to the U.S.O.E.: The list of objectives (including an explanation of each) and an indication as to which objectives their child has completed. In this way, the parents can keep an account in their home of their child's accomplishments in relation to well-defined and relatively immediate goals. The teachers may wish to express, in addition, feelings about a student's attitude, attendance, motivation, or other subjective items.

The project director and her staff must have some objective indicator of strengths and weaknesses. This service will be provided as the director and evaluator identify variables suspected of influencing student progress, in conjunction with the data-handling system described below.

Mentioned earlier in the report are the three levels of objectives: (1) General Program Objectives, which are generic and offer a description of the (2) Sequenced Objectives, which indicate the groups of steps necessary for a student to take before he has mastered a particular General Program Objective, and which are founded upon (3) the individual learning task objectives, taking the student from the very basic "no-knowledge" level of operation up to the mastery of the Sequenced Objectives. This evaluation will focus on the criterion referenced assessment of progress through the Sequenced Objectives because they are specific, but not overly so.

At least three specific pieces of data will be required of each instructor: (1) the number of sequenced objectives he, as the expert, believes an excellent student should complete in the course of a year's time: (2) the entry date for each student and (3) the date each student completed each objective.

This information will be provided to the data processing office on a specially-developed form (see Appendix) every four weeks. Four times during each academic year, the data processing office will generate a report containing basic summary information on each student and each class (see Appendix). In addition to the basic information, a variety of checks will be available, depending upon the desires of the director and her staff. Variables suspected of affecting student progress can be examined, and might include age, sex, teacher, instructional method, number of years at the R.R.D.S., number of years at other schools, number of children in the family, in the class, parental encouragement, boarding vs. commuting, etc. Results of this analysis would provide the objective indicators of strengths and weaknesses mentioned earlier. Variables that do statistically relate to student progress can be further examined by program members, and as plans for intervention are developed their effect on progress can be observed through the same procedure.

Evaluation Procedure

1. Student completes the Sequenced Objectives.

2. The instructor records that fact, along with the date and student's name, on the special IBM card form. One copy of the form is given to the student, one is kept by the teacher for her records, and the IBM card itself is sent to the office.

3. Steps #1 and #2 are repeated as often as necessary within a period of four weeks.

4. After the end of the fourth week of the period, the special forms (the IBM cards) that have been collected all along are sent to the data processing center.

5. The key punch operator transforms the written information into punched form on the original IBM card, according to the following format:

CC	Item
1-25	Student Name
26-27	Class (coded)
28-29	Teacher (coded)
30-32	Number of objectives possible for the full year
33-38	Date student entered program
39-41	Identifying number of the objectives completed
42-47	Date Objectives Completed
48-77	blank
78-80	Card Number

6. All cards are verified.

7. Cards are alphabetized by student name.

8. Report "A" is generated from above cards, listing the student's name, the date he entered the program, the identifying number of each of the objectives he completed, the total number of objectives he completed and the total number of objectives possible for the year, the name of his instructor, and the name of his class (not necessarily in that order).

9. Cards are re-sorted by class.

10. Report "B" is generated from above cards, listing the class, the teacher, number of students, total number of objectives possible for the year, the mean number of objectives completed.

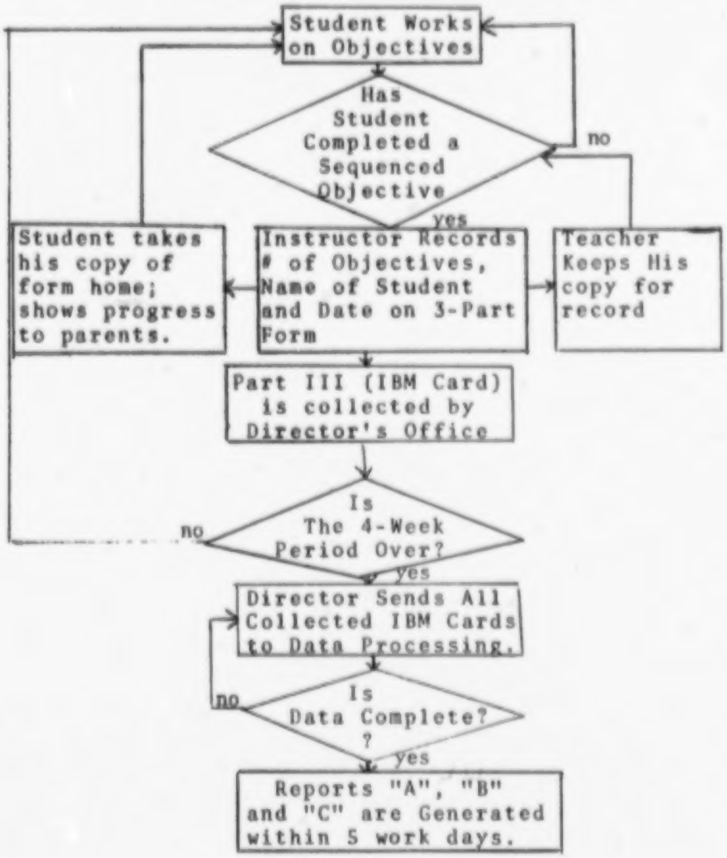
11. From the same card sort, Report "C" is generated, listing all the data in Report "B" along with the individual student listings as given in Report "A".

12. From the date the data is received by the data processing center, Reports "A", "B", and "C" will be returned to the director within five working days.

No data will be processed until all cards are received.

The following flow-chart graphically illustrates the procedure detailed above.

Evaluation Procedure Flow-Chart


Student Works on Objectives
Has Student Completed a Sequenced Objective
no
yes
Student takes his copy of form home; shows progress to parents.
Instructor Records # of Objectives, Name of Student and Date on 3-Part Form
Teacher Keeps His copy for record
Part III (IBM Card) is collected by Director's Office
Is The 4-Week Period Over?
no
yes
Director Sends All Collected IBM Cards to Data Processing.
Is Data Complete? ?
no
yes
Reports "A", "B" and "C" are Generated within 5 work days.

Evaluation of the esthetic dimension, emotional and psychological, for the well-being of every child is important. The use of video tape and 8mm Super 8 movie film is now being used at Rough Rock by John Wood Collier to evaluate emotional and psychological well-being in the classroom. This is a technique he as an anthropologist and educator at San Francisco State College developed in his series on Eskimo education in Alaska for the vocational study of American Indian Education.

Emotional behavior viewed on film has tangibles that can be scaled and compared in an orderly unimpressionistic way. In fact, only through film has nonverbal behavior been stabilized and understood. The six films completed of Rough Rock classes genuinely present a scale of tangible behavior that suggests Rough Rock teaching does consistently impart a high level of well-being.

S A M P L E

REPORT FORM A

STUDENT	CLASS	DATE ENTERED	OBJ #S COMPL.	# OBJ. POS.	TUT # COMPL.	INSTR.
Fisher, Gary Scott	Navajo Language	9-1-71	1 2 3 4 7 9 12 13 15	253	09	Draper
	English Language	9-1-71	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 13 14 16 19	310	15	Ludwig
	Mathematics	9-1-71	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19	590	19	Martin
Gray, John	Navajo Language	12-10-72	1 2 3 4 5 6	253	06	Draper
	English Language	12-10-72	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 10	310	09	Ludwig
	Mathematics	12-10-72	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	590	09	Martin
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮

SAMPLE

REPORT FORM B

CLASS: NAVAJO LANGUAGE TEACHER: DRAPER NO. OF STUDENTS: 18

TOTAL NO. OF OBJECTIVES POSSIBLE FOR YEAR: XXX

MEAN NO. OF OBJECTIVES COMPLETED TO DATE: XXX.XXX

CLASS: ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHER: LUDWIG NO. OF STUDENTS: 22

TOTAL NO. OF OBJECTIVES POSSIBLE FOR THE YEAR: XXX

MEAN NO. OF OBJECTIVES COMPLETED TO DATE: XXX.XXX

CLASS: MATHEMATICS TEACHER: MARTIN NO. OF STUDENTS: 12

TOTAL NO. OF OBJECTIVES POSSIBLE FOR THE YEAR: XXX

MEAN NO. OF OBJECTIVES COMPLETED TO DATE: XXX.XXX

S A M P L E

REPORT FORM C

CLASS: NAVAJO LANGUAGE TEACHER: DRAPER NO. OF STUDENTS: 18

TOTAL NO. OF OBJECTIVES POSSIBLE FOR THE YEAR: XXX

MEAN NO. OF OBJECTIVES COMPLETED TO DATE: XXX.XXX

STUDENT	DATE ENTERED	OBJ #S COMPL.	TOT # COMPL.
FISHER, GARY SCOTT	9-1-71	1 2 3 4 7 9 12 13 15	09
GRAY, JOHN	12-10-72	1 2 3 4 5 6	06
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮

THE MATERIALS ACQUISITION PROJECT

Rafael Fernández

A NATIONWIDE CONCERTED ENDEAVOR

The San Diego City Schools is the local educational agency for the Materials Acquisition Project, a federal project that is engaged in intensive nationwide efforts to place instructional materials in Spanish and Portuguese in bilingual classrooms and to further bilingual education. The Materials Acquisition Project is, however, only one of several efforts by the federal government to fulfill bilingual needs. A brief overview of other efforts is necessary to properly understand the role of the Materials Acquisition Project. Each of the projects that I am about to describe is part of a concerted nationwide endeavor.

SPANISH CURRICULA DEVELOPMENT CENTER

In Miami, the Spanish Curricula Development Center is dedicated to the production of instructional materials in Spanish. It is presently field testing and making final revisions for a completely articulated series of materials for the first, second and third grades.

CURRICULUM ADAPTATION NETWORK BILINGUAL BICULTURAL EDUCATION

These Miami materials are produced in what is termed a "culturally neutral" edition. The Curriculum Adaptation Network Bilingual Bicultural Education, a project that is located in several cities of the U.S., including San Diego, is supplying cultural relevance to the neutral edition. Three versions eventually will be published, one for the Chicano, one for the Puertorriqueño, and one for the Cubano.

MULTILINGUAL ASSESSMENT PROJECT

In Stockton, California, the Multilingual Assessment Project is creating testing materials relevant to non-English speakers.

PORTUGUESE MATERIALS RESOURCE CENTERS

And in Providence, Rhode Island, and New Bedford, Massachusetts, Portuguese Materials Resource Centers are presently being created with materials acquired by the Materials Acquisition Project.

> (EDITOR'S NOTE: The Dissemination Center for Bilingual Bicultural Education in Austin, Texas gathers materials that are produced by bilingual teachers and other materials created in the U.S., publishes them, and distributes these at cost to bilingual programs throughout the nation. It is also a program of national scope funded during the summer of 1972.)

MATERIALS ACQUISITION PROJECT CREATED IN SUMMER OF 1970

All the projects mentioned so far, except the Portuguese Materials Centers, are dedicated to the production and dissemination of materials. Producing curricular materials is a complex task that takes time. In order to determine if materials in Spanish and Portuguese could be introduced more rapidly into bilingual classrooms, the federal government created the Materials Acquisition Project of San Diego in the summer of 1970. The project then had as its main goal to go outside of the United States to make a search for instructional materials in Spanish and Portuguese that would have value in bilingual programs. At that time no one had any idea of exactly what would be found.

17,000 INDIVIDUAL TITLES

The Materials Acquisition Project has undertaken four trips, two to Mexico and Central America, one to South America, and one to Spain and Portugal. It has gathered a collection of 17,000 individual titles of texts and audio-visual aids. Everything of potential value that had been published up to 1971 in Mexico, Central America, Colombia, Perú, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Spain and Portugal was purchased. Recently published materials continue to be acquired.

COLLECTION FOR REVIEW AND EVALUATION

The collection of the Materials Acquisition Project is a collection of samples available primarily for review and evaluation by bilingual teachers to determine their instructional value. It is, we believe, a collection unique in the world, and perhaps will serve eventually as the basis for a research center of international scope.

RELEVANCY OF MATERIALS

We sometimes are asked if our acquisition trips were really necessary. The idea is that materials produced for foreign student populations could not possibly be relevant to American bilingual programs.

Even a brief review of our materials will point up the fact that many of our texts compare favorably with American texts in physical characteristics, content and format. Suffice to say that Spain, Mexico and Argentina are undergoing educational reforms and are instituting individualized programmed instruction. Many of our texts are resource texts accomparied by programmed worksheets. The latest educational theories and methods are evident in these.

EVALUATION THROUGH FIELD TESTING

Evaluations of the project's materials are made through a field testing program.

THE FIELD TESTING PROGRAM

The Materials Acquisition Project will be entering the second year of a field-testing effort with the placement of experimental Spanish and Portuguese instructional materials in thirty-six bilingual projects located in ten states and the District of Columbia. Included in the effort are San Diego City Schools bilingual classrooms. In agreeing to field test for the Materials Acquisition Project, the bilingual classroom teachers seek to determine the value of the instructional materials for appropriateness to the curricular subjects offered and the particular needs of the students served. Materials to be used are selected at workshops conducted at Materials Acquisition Project. Feedback is given through teacher evaluation and student response forms.

On-site visitations are made throughout the year by the field-testing coordinator. Information will be published in a comprehensive report on the field-testing effort to be made before the end of fiscal 1974.

States included in field testing program are California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oregon, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, and Florida. The Materials Acquisition Project hopes to add Cabrillo School to its field-testing effort. Contacts have been made.

PROMOTION

Materials Acquistion Project's promotion efforts are double-edged. We publicize not only ourselves and our services in particular but also bilingual education in general because the latter is a logical outgrowth of the former.

PROMOTION AUDIENCES

Materials Acquisition Project aims its promotional activities at four audiences. The first of these is Title VII projects; since our source of funds is Title VII, our first obligation is to serve Title VII projects. Our second audience is federal- and state-funded programs involved in bilingual education, and our third audience is individuals interested in bilingual education. Our fourth and final audience is the general public. It cannot be ignored on account of two important facts: bilingual education can be of benefit to everybody, monolingual English-speakers as well as monolingual Spanish- and Portuguese-speakers; and bilingualism is an integral part of our cultural heritage here in the Southwest.

CONFERENCE AND CONVENTION TRAVEL

One of the ways we promote our project is with travel to conferences and conventions across the country. When we take these trips, we carry the exhibit that is on display outside the auditorium, fifty sample copies of instructional materials in Spanish and Portuguese, magazines, pamphlets, mailing list forms, and a carousel containing over a hundred slides that show individual items in our collection.

TRAVELING KITS

Another way we promote our project is with traveling kits of materials that we mail to projects which cannot visit us or which we cannot visit. These kits contain informational pamphlets, samples of instructional materials, slide carousels, and cassette tapes that describe what we do.

> EDITOR'S NOTE: Sample texts and supplementary materials in Spanish and Portuguese from the project were discussed as well.
>
> Since the time of this presentation, the Materials Acquisition Project has begun to operate the Parallel Curricula Program. By means of this activity, classroom teachers of bilingual instruction across the country are helping to analyze Spanish and Portuguese texts from the M.A.P. collection.
>
> This project has also begun to publish *Materiales en Marcha para el Esfuerzo Bilingüe Bicultural*, a monthly magazine having national and international circulation.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Dr. Severo Gómez

Where do we go from here? For the past two days you have had the opportunity to listen to some of the best bilingual educators in the nation. In the process you've been asked to get your second wind as you seek ways for implementing bilingual education. You have had the opportunity to examine the technique of reading motivation and its relationship to learning; and where have you had a better exposure to "*La Literatura Chicana*." Because in our bilingual programs we do have English-speaking children you have been given the opportunity to study the methods and techniques for teaching Spanish as a second language to English-speaking children. Along with that, also, you have had the opportunity to look at ways of teaching Spanish reading to the Spanish dominant student and to examine materials for developing bilingual literacy skills.

In this whole setting you may have explored the relationship of Mexican immigration in the development of the Chicano community; and the influences of culture in learning to read and how language development can be measured in bilingual programs. You have had the opportunity to examine art, and how culture is manifested in artistic endeavors. You have had the opportunity to learn about the implementation, administration and supervision of bilingual school curricula. For those of you specifically concerned about bilingual education for Puerto Rican children you have had the opportunity to examine and discuss the various instructional programs that meet the special needs of these children. All of you have had an experience in the first truly bilingual television program in the nation--*Carrascolendas*. You learned how such a television program was developed and how it is used in a bilingual program.

History is such an important component of the bilingual programs. We have made it possible for you to get a view of the contributions of Spanish speakers to our history and also the treatment of minorities in history textbooks. Just as important is the involvement of parents and others in the community in bilingual education programs. We have made it possible for you to talk to parents and to look at their programs and how they get involved; how they participate.

As you know one of our big concerns is assessment--appropriate, adequate and relevant testing of the Spanish-speaking child. I hope all of you have taken the opportunity to examine what is going on in Stockton in the Multilingual Assessment Project, and the possibilities for use of these testing materials in your own programs. And because all of our projects have developed curriculum materials of all kinds we have made it possible for you to look at them; not only those for teaching Mexican American children, but also materials for teaching Indian and Puerto Rican children bilingually. Because it is so important to teach in an environment in which children are in a psychologically healthy state we have also included a program in which the psychological factors teachers should recognize in the bicultural child are thoroughly investigated. I hope all of you took the opportunity to participate in it.

Many of our children, as you know, are of migrant parents. Consequently, we have tried to involve you in experiences of a special nature for teaching these children ever cognizant of their special needs. We have also made it possible for you to hear from the Office of Education personnel about the future of bilingual education, Title VII, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, on a national scale and the services available under that Program.

There are usually many questions about unique programs or programs with special characteristics or problems. The rap sessions for administrators and teachers successfully bore this out. And, because we deal with so many Spanish-speaking children in this country with variations in language, the importance of the sociolinguistic dimensions of the language became an important topic of discussion.

When you think of Title VII you always think of writing a project proposal. Here again, we have given you the opportunity to sit in with the experts who have been doing this for several years and who know project planning and implementation very well. Good participation from the audience proved to be a significant contribution.

As you know, many of the children in bilingual education projects are in the three-, four-, five-year old bracket. We thought it important that this area, early childhood education, be part of this conference.

One of the components or processes that so many people associate with bilingual education, sometimes dangerously, as the only process, is that of teaching English as a second language. We tried in this conference to point out that it is only one part of the whole but a very important one and a technique that must be mastered. Staff development--we are rightfully concerned about the competency and the capabilities of the staff. We know that being bilingual isn't enough. We must learn to teach in a two-language setting. We have tried to enrich this conference by including staff development activities and to show how staffs can be recruited, trained and conditioned to feel confident in teaching in a bilingual program.

We also touched on the area of history particularly as it appears in our textbooks. We emphasized the importance of including the contributions of the Spanish-speaking population to the history of the United States. This is very important to the development of good bilingual education programs. The session on legislation was very interesting and fruitful.

We all recognize its importance and how it regulates the very life of bilingual education in all of our States. I think you were able to get an idea of the problems that we have in getting legislation passed, particularly when funding is involved. But I also think that you were able to sense the feeling that some of our legislators have for the education of all our children.

Last night the highlight of the conference was the banquet and the remarks made by U.S. Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr., a person who is bilingual and one who more than others in Washington understands the process and its problems. He gave us hope for bilingual education at the national level to the extent that someday soon bilingual education will become general education for the nation and most specifically in areas where great numbers of Spanish speakers now live. Spanish and English are the two main languages of this hemisphere.

To put the icing on the cake, so to speak, to our conference we brought you *"Los Tejanitos."* What a beautiful presentation of dances and songs which so well depict the culture as it developed early and as it evolved as time went by. It was a great finale for this conference.

I have been recapitulating. As you know the topic here for terminating the whole conference is, "Where do We Go from Here?" I am sure that most of us have learned a great deal from this conference; some more than others. We have improved our own knowledge, become acquainted with people in the field who have shared their experiences with us. We have had the opportunity to grow, to grow intellectually and to grow psychologically. I think we will all be better prepared for getting involved in bilingual education in our own communities. But will we? What happened here is not as important as what happens when you return to your schools. What are you going to do there? If you were motivated to go back and to do, and to change, and to bring a better program of bilingual education to your school, then the purpose for our Conference has been accomplished. But if you have become excited and motivated here, and, then, when you get to the classroom next week nothing changes there, you've had a good experience and the conference has failed.

We know that many times we feel as if little change can take place because of the system in which we live. As a teacher you must work under administrators who are not fully sold on the program. This negativism carries from school to the community. We at the state level experience this constantly. Well, if it is ever going to change, if you are really ever going to really make the contribution that you must make, then you have to change those people that are against bilingual education. That should be first priority as a teacher, a board member or as a citizen. You must change everyone about you. We have given you in these two days some experiences by which you do this.

You know we have talked about the development of a positive self-image in children as being a very important component in bilingual education; and it is. But what is also so important is that you too have a positive self-image; and a confidence, and a drive and a motivation in order that you may change the attitudes of people, because that is what this process is all about. It is among the people where we must establish the battleground and win the battles, making them aware of, and helping them understand and believe in, bilingual education. With its variations bilingual education is not a panacea but a way of bringing those children who start school knowing a language other than English to a point in their intellectual development in which they feel comfortable and experience success in learning. When this is done nothing will keep them from developing their capabilities to the greatest extent possible. We must believe in this process, but also must influence others in believing in it. We cannot be content with only believing it ourselves. The dedication we must have is more than that which functions within the boundaries of our own makeup. Dedication in this context means changing and guiding individuals and groups; giving that leadership that is necessary for understanding what we in bilingual education perceive to be the "right" process.

We want all of our children to have an opportunity to succeed in our educational system. We think we have a way. It is not going to be exactly the same in every classroom and for every child. The six components of which we have spoken at this conference and which were noted by the Commissioner of Education of this state in the introductory remarks we believe are basic to any program. All the components, not just one or two, working in harmony are what we perceive as bilingual education and we are going to do all we can to implement it in this way, varying it wherever it needs to be varied for those children who need the variation, but adhering to the six-components concepts all the way through as a basis to its success. History will record the success of this process. The ultimate will be when it becomes general education for all the students of this great nation.

APPENDIX

PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS

Presiding, First General Session, Dr. Severo Gómez, Assistant Commissioner of Education, Office of International and Bilingual Education, Texas Education Agency

Invocation, Rev. Josué González, Iglesia Metodista Emmanuel, Austin, Texas

Welcome, Joe Parks, Executive Director, Education Service Center, Region XIII, Austin, Texas

Opening Statement, Dr. J. W. Edgar, Commissioner of Education, Texas Education Agency

Keynote Address - "The Second Wind of Advocators of Bilingual Education (*y sigue la yunta andando*), Dr. Quino Martínez, Professor of Languages, Arizona State University, Tempe

"Reading-Motivation-Learning," Dr. Robert Galván, Assistant to the Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth

"*Pensamientos Sobre La Literatura Chicana*," Rafael Jesús González, Professor, Interdisciplinary Studies, Laney College, Oakland

"Teaching Spanish to English Speaking Children," Anita García, Supervisor, Migrant Program, San Benito Schools, Texas

"Teaching Spanish Reading to the Spanish Dominant Child," Dr. Joseph Michel, Director, Foreign Language Education Center, University of Texas, Austin

"Bilingual Literacy Skills: Spanish and English ROLL Materials," A. R. Ramírez, Director of Curriculum, Region I Education Service Center, Edinburg

"Mexican Immigrants and the Chicano Community," Dr. Julián Samora, Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Notre Dame

"Some Behavioral Science Implications for Developing Literacy Through Family and Social Influences," Dr. Joe Frost, Associate Professor of Curriculum and Instruction, College of Education, University of Texas, Austin

"Techniques of Measuring Language Development in Bilingual Programs, "Dr. Chester Christian, Director, Inter-American Institute, The University of Texas, El Paso

"Art by and for the Bilingual," José Cisneros, Distinguished Artist, El Paso, Texas

"Administration, Supervision and Implementation of a Bilingual School Curriculum," Carmen Rivera, Principal, Bronx, New York

"General Descriptions of Instructional Programs that Meet Students' Needs," Carmen Pérez, Director, Bilingual Education Project, Brooklyn, New York (Text not available at time of publication)

"From the Inside Looking Around," Richard G. Santos, Professor of Anthropology, Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, Texas

"Carrascolendas--A TV Experience in Bilingual Education," Carol Perkins, Curriculum Coordinator, Bilingual Instruction Through Television, Education Service Center XIII, Austin

"Treatment of Minorities in the History Textbooks: An Analysis, An Evaluation, A Recommendation," Dr. Félix Almaraz, Author, Historian, Director, Bilingual Education Project, South San Antonio Schools, San Antonio

"Parental Involvement in Bilingual Programs," Irene Fernández, Parental Involvement Specialist, Bilingual Program, Education Service Center, Region XIII, Austin (Text not available at time of publication)

"The National Multi-Lingual Assessment Program (Its Purpose, Goals and Objections)," Dr. Joe R. Ulibarrí, Project Director, National Multi-Lingual Assessment Program, Stockton

"Multi-Lingual Assessment," Dr. Eduardo A. De Avila, Research Director, The Stockton Project, National Multi-Lingual Assessment Program, Stockton, California

"Title VII Project Developed Materials: Show and Tell," Minerva Gorena, Materials Specialist, Bilingual Program, Education Service Center, Region XIII, Austin (Text not available at time of publication)

"Psychological Factors Teachers Must Recognize in the Bicultural Child," Uvaldo Palomares, President, Institute for Personal Effectiveness in Children, San Diego, California

"Cultural Influences on Learning to Read," Dr. Joe Frost, Associate Professor of Curriculum and Instruction, College of Education, University of Texas, Austin (Text not available at time of publication)

"Bilingual Programs and Migrant Education (K-3)," Lee Frasier, Director of Migrant and Preschool Programs, Texas Education Agency, Austin (Text not available at time of publication)

"Report on the Bilingual Education Program Title VII, E.S.E.A.," Dr. Albar Peña, Chief, Bilingual Education Programs Branch, Division of Plans and Supplementary Centers, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

"Services Available to the Field," John Plakos, Director; Andres Guerrero, Curriculum; Juan Rivera, Research - The National Center for Bilingual-Bicultural Education

"Rap Session for Administrators of Bilingual Programs," Victor Cruz-Aedo, Consultant, Office of International and Bilingual Education, Texas Education Agency, Austin

"Sociolinguistic Dimensions of the Language of the Mexican American," Dr. George Blanco, Program Director, Foreign Language Education, Texas Education Agency, Austin (Text not available at time of publication)

"Legislation and Bilingual Education," The Honorable Carlos Truán of Corpus Christi, Texas House of Representatives

Invocation, Rev. Daniel L. Villanueva, Iglesia Cristo Rey

Introduction of Speaker, Judge Edward L. Gómez, Hidalgo County, Texas

Speaker, The Honorable Lloyd Bentsen, United States Senator from Texas

"Bilingual Program Development: Project Planning and Implementation," Royce King, Director, Program Planning, Education Service Center, Region XIII, Austin (Text not available at time of publication)

"General Descriptions of Bilingual Programs that Meet Students' Needs," Curtis C. Harvey, Consultant, Office of International and Bilingual Education, Texas Education Agency, Austin

"History for the Future: The Contributions of the Spanish Speaking Population to the History of the United States," Dr. Julian Nava, Author, Historian, Professor of History, San Fernando Valley State College, California

"The Implications of Early Childhood Education," Dr. Arturo Luis Gutiérrez, Consultant, Office of International and Bilingual Education, Texas Education Agency, Austin

"English as a Second Language and the Bilingual Program: Why and How," Mike Pool, Project Coordinator, Bilingual Instruction Through Television, Education Service Center, Region XIII, Austin

"Staff Development for Bilingual Education Programs: A Philosophical Base," Gloria Zamora, Director, Bilingual Education Project, Edgewood Schools, San Antonio

"Two Sides of the Coin for the Navajo Child: Curriculum Development in Terms of Tasks and Individual Criteria Assessment of the Tasks," E. Roby Leighton, Director, Title VII Project, Chinle, Arizona

"The Materials Acquisition Project," Rafael Fernández, Director, San Diego, California

Presiding, Juan Solís, State Program Director, Office of International and Bilingual Education, Texas Education Agency, Austin

Panel -- "Legislation for Bilingual Education": Chairman, The Honorable Joe J. Bernal of San Antonio, Texas State Senate; The Honorable Joe Christie of El Paso, Texas State Senate; The Honorable Carlos Truan of Corpus Christi, Texas House of Representatives; The Honorable Paul C. Moreno of El Paso, Texas House of Representatives and The Honorable Raul Longoria of Edinburg, Texas House of Representatives

Entertainment -- "Los Tejanitos" under the auspices of Mrs. Anne Zimmerman, Principal, Barcley Elementary School, San Antonio, Texas

"Where Do We Go From Here?" Severo Gómez, Assistant Commissioner of Education, Office of International and Bilingual Education, Texas Education Agency, Austin

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